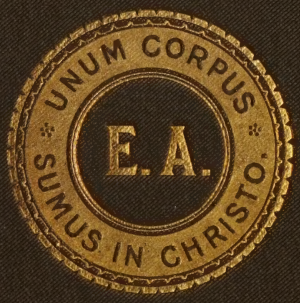
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National perils and

National Perils and Opportunities.

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NATIONAL PERILS AND OPPORTUNITIES.

THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE

GENERAL ✦ CHRISTIAN ✦ CONFERENCE,

HELD IN

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

December 7th, 8th and 9th, 1887.

UNDER THE AUSPICES AND DIRECTION OF THE

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE

FOR THE

UNITED STATES.

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PREFACE.

Early in October, 1887, the following call was issued, signed by officers of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States, together with those of the Washington Branch, and some seventy eminent clergymen and laymen, representing different evangelical denominations and various sections of the country.

CALL FOR THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

TO THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC.

Thoughtful men are convinced that the closing years of the nineteenth century constitute a momentous crisis in the history of the nation. There is a march of events which will not tarry. The necessity of planting Christian institutions in the formative West, and of strengthening them in older states, the duty of overtaking the rapid growth of our cities with adequate church provision, the importance of closing the widening chasm between the church and the multitude, and of bringing the regenerative power of the gospel to bear upon every character and life, demand the instant attention of the Christian church and the full exercise of all its energies.

Popular education has multiplied wants and created tastes which wealth has not been sufficiently distributed to gratify; hence a growing discontent among workingmen, which in prosperous times is an ill omen, suggesting grave questions concerning the next financial panic and the consequent industrial depression. The conflict with the saloon drawing to a crisis, and the manifest

determination of the liquor power to accomplish its ends by fraud, corruption or violence; a wide-spread spirit of lawlessness; the apathy of the popular conscience; the alienation of the masses from the churches, and increasing immigration—all these point to growing complications in the near future.

Under monarchical governments, men have thought that if power could be popularized the ills of life would mostly disappear. In this country, until recently, by reason of abundant public lands, a sparse and substantially homogeneous population, and an almost limitless demand for labor, we have been exempt from many of the evils suffered by European peoples. But we are now beginning to approximate European conditions of society. The existence of great cities, severe competition, an unemployed class, increasing pauperism and crime, are the occasion and evidence of a wide-spread discontent, for which the ballot affords no remedy. Has not the time come for us to make demonstration of the truth that the gospel can do what popular suffrage cannot do? Is not this the nation, and is not this the generation, providentially called to make such application of the gospel to the life of the people as has never yet been made? Will not those who have enjoyed "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," be the first to learn that the essential evils of society are caused, not by misrule, but by sin, and that the gospel, therefore, must furnish the solution of the great social problems?

The Christian church has not yet fully recognized its relations to the entire life of the community and the nation. Even Christian men, preoccupied with private concerns and overburdened by the demands on their time, are prone to neglect the public welfare, and are loath to accept any responsibility for existing evils.

Denominations and local churches, each intent on its own good work, have fallen into a harmful competition instead of engaging in an intelligent and comprehensive co-operation.

Our marvelous material growth and the progress of invention have produced new conditions, to which business has been quick to adapt its methods. Do not important changes in population and in the habits and temper of the people require some changes in the methods of Christian work?

The undersigned, therefore, unite in calling a *General Conference* of all Evangelical Christians in the United States, to be held under the auspices and direction of the Evangelical Alliance for the

United States, in the city of Washington, December the 7th, 8th and 9th, 1887, to study in effect the following questions:

1st. What are the present perils and opportunities of the Christian church and of the country?

2d. Can any of them be met best by a hearty co-operation of all Evangelical Christians, which, without detriment to any denominational interests, will serve the welfare of the whole church?

3d. What are the best means to secure such co-operation, and to waken the whole church to its responsibility?

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In response to this call some twelve or fifteen hundred delegates assembled in conference at Washington, December 7. Many letters of regret were received from eminent men and from educational institutions, expressing the fullest sympathy with the objects of the meeting.

A large number of the delegates were the chosen representatives of ecclesiastical bodies, local churches, theological seminaries, and colleges. The highly representative character of the Conference, composed of men of wide influence in their respective denominations, lent great significance and weight to the approval given to many sentiments by hearty applause.

It will be observed that in many of the addresses no record of applause appears; not because the audience was any less appreciative in these cases, but because the printer was furnished the manuscript of the speakers instead of a stenographic report.

The obvious necessity of adhering to the rule that no question should be put to vote, rendered it impossible to entertain any of the resolutions that were privately urged in behalf of various worthy reforms and of many benevolent and Christian enterprises.

The Alliance is much indebted to the trustees of the First Congregational Church, who generously offered their house of worship, the most commodious in the city, for the sessions of the Conference; also to the Presbyterian Church that kindly opened their house for the overflow meetings. Our thanks are due to the Young Men's Christian Association, and to the Chief of the Seed Division of the Agricultural Department, for courtesies extended to delegates.

The success of the Conference was due in no small measure to the committees of the Washington Branch, who, by their thoughtful anticipation of every want and their untiring energy, laid under obligations to them not only the Alliance but all in attendance upon the meeting.

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Rev. JAMES M. KING, D. D.,
Rev. L. B. BATES, D. D.,
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Rev. S. M. NEWMAN, D. D.,
Mr. WM. E. DODGE.

National Perils and Opportunities.

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 7, 1887.

MORNING SESSION.

The Conference met in the Congregational Church, corner of Tenth and G streets, and was organized at 9:40 A. M., with Mr. William E. Dodge, President of the Evangelical Alliance, occupying the chair.

The session was opened by singing the hymn, "Come, Gracious Spirit, Heavenly Dove," after which a selection of Scripture, consisting of the Second Chapter of the Acts, was read by Bishop Harris, of Michigan. Rev. Arthur T. Pierson, D. D., of Philadelphia, then led in prayer, the Conference first rising and uniting with him in the Lord's Prayer, as a visible expression of their unity.

OPENING ADDRESS.

W. E. DODGE, President.

It is my duty, as representing the Evangelical Alliance for the United States, to call this Conference to order, and to express to the citizens of Washington, and their local Committee, our sincere appreciation of their great kindness and gracious hospitality in inviting us to their beautiful city, and in arranging the details which minister to our comfort and convenience.

As the capital of the Nation, any true word spoken here, or any impulse for good, will be felt through the whole land, and this tends to deepen the responsibility and to widen the possible influence of our gathering.

It is proper I should state briefly the reasons which have led to this Conference, and the results which are hoped for.

Acting on what they believe to be a leading purpose of the organization of the Alliance, the Board of Managers have for a long time carefully studied the social and economic changes which so largely affect the condition of the country.

They have secured a General Secretary who has the confidence and respect of all the churches; who has been a thoughtful student and observer, and, by his pen and on the platform, has done large service in awakening the attention of Christians to their increasing responsibilities.

Their aim has been to gather information as to all forms of religious work, and to the needs of all sections of the country. They have endeavored to avoid all loose statements and mere sentiment, and have sought for real facts. Their desire has been to know whether the Christian efforts and organizations as now existing, either denominational or general, are sufficient to meet growing needs, and to cover the whole ground.

The result of this investigation has been most encouraging, as showing a vital Christian life and a growing interest in all Christian duties. It has developed great reserved force and unused resources in the Church, and a power which, if concentrated and developed, might easily change the whole character of the country, and assure its future.

It has shown a very large proportion of the population, the wealth and intelligence of the land, to be in nominal membership of Evangelical churches; a power so great as to be able to control and direct the best thought of the people, and to guide all our institutions; a power which, if wisely directed, could bring to bear upon all social questions and all disturbing elements the influence of the simple teachings of Christ, which we believe contain the solvent for all perils and dangers, and which can alone bring about a real brotherhood and mutual confidence between all classes and conditions of people.

But all thoughtful men will agree that at present the largest portion of our Christian resources are unused; that many efforts are misdirected; that a want of organization and mutual understanding causes much waste of effort and money; that many modes of work overlap each other; that large spaces are untouched.

Denominational agencies are highly organized, but work largely

without reference to each other, and sometimes appear almost to care more for the furtherance of special views than for the building up of the whole Church of Christ.

Our voluntary system, with its splendid results and adaptation to many peculiarities of our times, has its grave defects, especially in large cities, and needs careful study and re-arrangement. In all our churches the supply of ministers is sadly behind the needs, especially of those who have fitness and consecration for the hard places, and for sympathetic contact with working people.

Our population is growing with startling rapidity. New and wonderful means of transportation are opening the whole land at once to settlement. New communities are springing up by magic; and their moral and religious characters are being established as rapidly.

Immigrants are pouring into the country in increasing volume. These new additions to our population are not absorbed and Americanized as formerly, and are settling in masses in our large cities and new states—retaining language, habits and traditions foreign to our ideas, and rapidly changing the character of our people.

The power of the saloons is highly organized, and, notwithstanding all the grand work done for the cause of temperance, claims to control legislatures and laws. Secular unions and infidel clubs exist all through the country, and exert a baneful influence, especially upon our foreign population.

The Roman Church embraces a large portion of our people; and while we admire and respect its religious devotion and admirable charities, and have nothing but kindness and regard for its individual members, it still holds its first allegiance to a foreign power, which claims the absolute right to control all consciences and all peoples, and is, therefore, a dangerous menace to the Republic.

Our cities are growing in size and in influence, beyond our conception. They are becoming great manufacturing centres, drawing population from all sections of the interior of our country, and from all the world. Their condition is not fully understood by Christian people, and the provision for their religious care is sadly inadequate.

The growing disregard of the proper use of the American Sunday, the loose opinions as to family ties, the increased licentiousness, the materialism of the age, the absorption in money

making, the increased luxury and enervation in many classes, the dying out of religious influences in sparsely settled portions of the old states, all tend to show a change in the condition of our land, which demands careful consideration.

The American ideas of morality, frugal living, education, home life, and respect for law are changing rapidly, and it is the duty of the Christian Church to lead the new thought of the times, or certain disaster and punishment must come.

Our country welcomes all to a new home and conditions more favorable for happiness and advance than the world has ever seen, but all who come to share its privileges must understand that the new civilization, so full of promise to them, is founded on love to God, respect for law, and a high moral sentiment.

The Church must embody this high standard, not only in its creeds, *but in its life.* In some way we have failed in this, for the gravest and most important consideration which confronts us is the fact that all over the country the artisan class is becoming more and more estranged from the churches, and is gaining its instruction and inspiration from unwise leaders, almost invariably of foreign birth, who argue from half-truths and unfair conclusions.

Everywhere among workingmen is unrest, a looking for some one to show them a higher good. A late author, himself a workingman, says of the artisan: "He has been revolutionized in character, passing from a simple life of few wants and necessities to a varied and complex one, where he is more sensitive to social disadvantages and more sensible of his power as a social factor."

Of the poorer class of workingmen he says: "It is unquestionably true that poverty is more inimical to society to-day, more dangerous to social order, freedom and democratic institutions, than ever before."

Mr. Lowell, in his admirable address on "Democracy," says: "Formerly the immense majority of men—our brothers—knew only their sufferings, their wants and their desires. They are beginning now to know their opportunity and their power."

All this restlessness and change means grand opportunity. There is no room or place for discouragement, if we are true to our responsibility.

The duty is clear and plain, and the call of God direct. The Christian Church must be united in heart, must co-operate fully, must assume the aggressive, and advance along the whole line.

The times call for an *applied Christianity* that can meet all the needs and relations of man to man. It cannot remain merely defensive, and must prove its adaptedness to all needs and all conditions. The full brotherhood of men under one Father and in one household must be its watchword, with a meaning never known before.

True Christian men of all names are waking up to a fuller realization of these facts. They begin to understand that a religion worth the name must bring cheer into every home, hope into every life—bring into close touch and sympathy and mutual confidence all classes, must kill self-seeking and self-indulgence; and at any cost of time, money or comfort, its followers must live as Christ lived on earth, *with the people and for the people.*

The times are ripe for full consideration of these vital conditions, and this gathering is called that facts may be presented, considerations urged, and full conference be had, as to our opportunities and responsibilities.

The Alliance has no thought of pushing its own views, or making a place for itself. It has no theories to assert. It believes the first need is for careful and accurate study. Its only hope and suggestion is that in each community Christian men, without regard to name, will be willing to meet and carefully and prayerfully study the problems of its own locality. It is certain this will result in the adaptation of means to meet the wants and destitution sure to be discovered. This will warm Christian hearts into fuller confidence and sympathy with each other, and will advance all denominational interests in their relation to the whole Church of Christ as nothing else can do.

Such study and investigation will certainly warm up the whole religious atmosphere, give purpose to Christian life, and advance every good cause.

It will show to all outside the churches that this practical self-denying interest in everything that touches their comfort and happiness means something *new for them* ; that Christ came to make their lives on earth brighter, sweeter and happier; that Christianity means something more than easy church-going and self-satisfied living.

In this study and investigation, all denominations can join with perfect loyalty to their own convictions and form of worship; and in the evils to be met and remedied in each locality, many things will

be found which can only be successfully met by a cordial co-operation of all the churches.

Christian brothers, do we believe in the teachings of our Master? They have been in the world nearly two thousand years! Have they yet been fully tried? The Church has slowly and steadily grown in wealth and influence and doctrine; but have these teachings yet been put into practical operation?

If God and our hopes for the future were blotted out, and nothing but this life remained, the model of Christ's perfect life, if it could be imitated by man, and His teachings followed, would make this earth a heaven, and put an end to sin and evil here. This example and these teachings are committed to our keeping, with all the full hopes and grand possibilities they contain. What are we doing with them? Christ became a man, and showed how man should live with his brothers. As the Father sent Him, so He sends us to bear witness of the truth.

Let us be perfectly frank with each other in this Conference.

We rejoice rightly in the increasing growth of our churches, in many forms of new and earnest work, in great sums given for missions and for charity, in the large proportion of young men in our colleges who are firm in Christian principle, in ministers and teachers more faithful than ever before. Most of all, we rejoice in the faithful few—"the Church within the Church"—who are ceaseless in their devotion and self-sacrifice, but are we not throwing upon these hard-worked, overworked pastors and members the burdens which *all* should share?

Of the vast number of nominal church members, what proportion is doing its full share in the vital work needed by these rapid times?

How many are content to attend one service a day, to give small sums, and occasionally to speak well of religion, if it costs them nothing? How many expect the pastor to do all the work with such help as he can get from a few "enthusiasts" in the church?

How many understand that their money is only a trust for the advancement of Christ's cause on earth? After all, how pitiful the whole large aggregate of money given appears, compared with the amounts spent in luxuries and show by those who *profess* to have given their lives and all they have to the lowly Jesus—Master of us all.

How can an army expect victory if the rank and file stand by

idly criticising, or seeking its own amusement and profit, while the officers and file-leaders are in the thick of the fight?

If grand results have come to our country from a religion so strangely handled by its professors, what results would follow if every man were alert and consecrated?

We profess to be a Christian country, and we have advanced, perhaps, further than has been reached before—but the leaven has not entered the whole mass.

Probably one-half of our people never enter a church. When we send out missionaries to foreign countries, rum and licentiousness go out with or before them from our Christian land, and get to work before our ministers can learn the language.

Every advance of our Christian civilization westward, forms first a settlement so crowded with saloons and gambling houses that it is a hell on earth, and its character half formed, before our churches are on the ground; and then men and means are so scanty that often it is only a forlorn hope.

We pride ourselves on our magnificent growth as a country, our increasing wealth, our pride of life, and our material prosperity; but all history shows that these are always the precursors of decay and ruin, if a deep foundation of morality and religion has not been planted.

At the Harvard anniversary, Mr. Lowell said: "Material success is good, but only as the necessary preliminary of better things. The measure of a nation's true success is the amount it has contributed to the thought, the moral energy, the intellectual happiness, the spiritual hope and consolation of mankind."

We have been educated into a sort of fatality—a belief that God would always care for our country, and we had little to do but to stand still and see His salvation. But this is not gospel or common sense. For the first time in history, a country teeming with every treasure has been put into the hands of an intelligent people, with God's word in their hands and His promises behind them, and His cheer always. We must "work out our own salvation with fear and trembling," but with the joyous certainty that God worketh with us.

We need a new revival, not only of higher spirituality, but of the complete acceptance of the idea that each Christian man has a real work to do for which he is responsible—such a revival as the Crusades were, or the Reformation! such a stirring of the whole

Church as came to both sections of our common country, when every man was willing to give all he had, even his life, to the cause he believed vital.

There are indications everywhere of the possibilities of such a new birth. And our earnest hope is that this Conference may be the precursor and promise of its coming.

CHAIRMAN: I now have the pleasure of introducing to the Conference, as the presiding officer of this session, the Hon. John Jay, of New York, who for many years was the honored President of the Alliance. (Applause.)

Mr. Jay, on taking the chair, said:

After listening to the impressive address of the President of the Alliance, we can the better appreciate the significance—which, we trust, will become historic—of this remarkable assemblage at the national Capital.

Among the sermons preached in New York, on Sunday last, on the dangers that beset us as a nation, was one by Bishop Potter from the text of St. Paul, "It is high time to awake out of sleep;" and this gathering of citizens from distant parts, representing the millions who hold to the Bible and cherish the institutions founded upon its truths, shows that the nation is awakening to the perils, foreign and domestic, which threaten the purity of its Christian civilization.

We should never forget the fact of which that philosophic reasoner of the Roman Catholic faith, Dr. Brownson, so forcibly reminded us, when he said that our American civilization was "the furthest point in advance yet reached by any age or nation."

Its intellectual and moral strength in our Revolutionary struggle were recognized by the world, and Burke rightly attributed that strength to the character of the emigrants to America from various lands, exhibiting "the dissidence of dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion." They brought with them the best and most heroic blood of the peoples of Europe—of the Hollanders, the Walloons of Flanders, the Huguenots of France, the English, Welsh, Scotch and Irish, of the Norwegians and Swedes, the Germans and the Swiss, of the Bohemian followers of John Huss, of the Albigenses and Waldenses, of the Italian Alps, of the Salzburg exiles, the Moravian Brothers, with refugees from the Palatinate, Alsace and southern Germany.

They all brought the Bible, for which they and their ancestors had been ready to suffer and to die; and their devotion to that book had descended to the Continental Congress, which, a week before it was driven from Philadelphia, ordered an importation of twenty thousand Bibles. At the Centennial celebration, at Philadelphia, of the Declaration of Independence, the acting Vice-President, Ferry, said that the American statesmen, who had to choose between the Royal authority or popular sovereignty, had been inspired by the truth uttered on Mars' Hill, and repeated in the opening prayer of the morning, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men."

The future of the Christian civilization, which has come to us from our true-hearted and sturdy ancestors, on the preservation of which, in its purity and beauty, depend the character of our countrymen and the destiny of our country, rests upon the generation of to-day.

Those who assisted to purge it of the taint of slavery are fast passing away—and the guardianship of our sacred heritage devolves upon the present generation, as its stands, "a link in the chain of eternal order" between the generations that are past and those which are to come.

You will now have the pleasure of hearing the Address of Welcome, by Bishop Edward C. Andrews, D. D., LL. D., of Washington.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

BISHOP ANDREWS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND BRETHREN OF THE CONVENTION:

The Washington Branch of the Evangelical Alliance has assigned to me the pleasant office of speaking to you their word of greeting and welcome. In this word, the Evangelical churches and people of the city do, I am sure, most cordially concur.

With one heart we welcome you to the Capital of the Republic, to a city not unworthy, as we fondly think, of the nation that now is, and having a promise of beauty and magnificence that shall honor the nation which is to be. We welcome you to a city which is yours as well as our own; which is yours, indeed, in a sense in which it is not our own. For the nation decreed and named it.

The nation, with a magnificent faith, mapped its magnificent distances, its broad avenues, its spacious parks. The nation has reared all these stately piles in which the laws of a great people are made, administered and judicially determined; has begun these collections, already notable, in science, art and literature; has here commemorated its noble dead, statesmen and heroes, in marble and bronze, and chiefly in that lofty shaft whose simple massiveness and purity fitly symbolize the first great President of the Republic. And the city which the nation has thus builded and adorned, the nation still rules with absolute though benignant sway. Representative as you are of all portions of the land, we welcome you to your own. We act as your ushers; enter, examine, enjoy, indulge a laudable pride, exchange congratulations as to what is, and hopes as to what shall be when the political life of five hundred millions of freemen shall here have its mighty heart.

But some things here are our own. In coming to this Capital City, neither our fathers nor we have forgotten the life of our former homes. We have builded churches, capacious and fair, and they are thronged by the feet of willing worshipers. We have homes where blossom all the amenities and sanctities of domestic love, where feeble age is cherished with tenderest care, where maturity daily refreshes itself for renewed struggle, where childhood is trained for the life that is and shall be. And here, we trust, are hearts not a few that, surrounded by excessive ambitions and gayeties, are still loyal to the supreme Lord and Saviour, and wrought more or less completely into unison with His great thought. To churches, homes and hearts we bid you cordial welcome. We open all to entertain you. In the name of your Master and ours, in the sympathy of common opinions and experiences, of common aims and hopes, we hail your coming with unfeigned joy.

"For we be brethren." We are one body, animated by one Spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling. To us there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all. Our lack of uniformity is not lack of unity. One life from the Lord and Giver of life pervades all believers and constitutes them His one indivisible body. Even death cannot disrupt this tie:

> One army of the living God
> To His command we bow,
> Part of the host have crossed the flood,
> And part are crossing now.

But to some of you we are bound by more than the common fraternal tie. We are your debtors for knowledge and guidance, for example and inspiration. Often unknown to us in person, you have silently and unseen ministered to our spiritual life. Your books have enlarged our horizon, ennobled our thoughts, corrected our errors, and inspired us to higher faith and better living. That which you have gained in sharp and costly struggle of mind and soul have you freely imparted to us. Others of you have entered into self-denying and heroic conflict with the powers of darkness which gather within the walls of great and crowded cities, and, through faith in Christ and His gospel, have before our eyes vindicated the salvability of the lowest of our race, and of society itself. And some of you, eminent in professional and business life, have by strict integrity and princely munificence illustrated how every department of human activity may yield effective service to the Lord Christ.

Brethren, beloved for the Master's sake, and honored for your faithful and large contributions to the kingdom of Christ, accept, one and all, our sincere welcome.

And we welcome you the more for the specific purpose of your coming. Our city is not unused to conventions—patriotic, scientific, educational, philanthropic. We do not undervalue any one of these factors of our complex civilization ; much less do we undervalue the Governmental functions which are exercised in our city.

The representatives of peoples and states, who last Monday met in the marble halls on yonder hill, have an office for the American people, and, indeed, for humanity, of large and far-reaching possibilities. They may affect greatly the course of history. They may abate illiteracy, may ordain equities between diverse and struggling classes, may regulate in some degree the composition of the American population, may strengthen fraternal ties at home and confirm peace abroad, may, within the limited scope of the General Government, repress crime and promote virtue, and, in many ways, may develop our national resources, and guide the national life. And it is occasion for devout joy that we may believe, in the face of much ignorant and flippant criticism, that many of these Senators and Representatives undertake their great work with the spirit of patriots and of Christians. If any of them fail to do this, even then are they also true representatives of our imperfect national life. Shall the stream rise higher than the fountain ?

But concede to political institutions and laws all of utility that any will claim for them, and there is still a field which they do not enter. They do not reach man in his interior nature. They do not restore the lost proportion and balance of his faculties. They do not make good men out of bad. They do not determine the faith, the character, the moral life, of the nation. So far from determining such questions, they do, for the most part, simply register the point which the nation's character has already reached. Institutions may affect character. Character, in the long run, absolutely determines institutions. The human mind, in its diversities, accounts for all history. Invisible itself, it has been successively revealed as Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Greece, Rome, the Middle Ages, the Reformation, Modern Europe, and now, this new phenomenon in history, the United States. And what issue shall come to this new life is simply and solely a question of mental conditions, a question of moral character. In this is the determination of all our institutions, our laws and our customs. The question of character is the paramount question. Beside this all questions of revenues, armaments, new States, fisheries, subsidies, land-grants, and all questions of party supremacy pale into insignificance. Our evils and our dangers are not in our conditions, but in ourselves. Sin is the radical evil. Righteousness, even the righteousness which is of God by faith in Jesus Christ, is the radical cure.

Gentlemen, you come from pressing occupations and grave responsibilities in your distant homes to deliberate on these transcendently important topics. We thank you for coming. The work is weighty ; the difficulties are great ; the solicitude is deep. May you be encouraged by remembering that the great and good of successive generations have shared the convictions which underlie your gathering ; that, for instance, in his memorable Farewell Address, in paragraphs too long to be here cited, the man first in the Republic and "foremost in the files of time," emphasizes the indispensableness of national righteousness ; saying in substance, and almost in the words themselves, "Public prosperity has no foundation but morality and religion ; and religion is the only security of morality."

That proposition is the postulate of this Convention.

The key-note of our discussions, as indicated by the call, is in the three words, *peril*, *opportunity*, *co-operation*.

I. That American Christianity and American Society are confronted with perils, new, various, organized and gigantic, is obvious. The city disproportionately enlarging; immigration increasing beyond our power of assimilation; wealth accumulating rapidly in a few hands; monopolies repressing individual enterprise; a foreign church, hostile to American principles, fortifying itself among us; the saloon, threatening every interest of the home and the state; illiteracy overshadowing a large part of the body politic; socialistic tendencies among the laboring classes; crimes multiplying with extraordinary energy; sexual vice patent everywhere, attended by a loosening of the marriage tie and the growth of Mormonism; the alienation of great masses of the people from the Church, with a startling increase of Sabbath desecration; corruption among the makers and administrators of law—these are facts portentous of disaster and, if unchecked, of ruin.

As Christians, we must recognize some of them as rooted in the persistent evil of human nature itself, in the soul which, because it does not like to retain God in its knowledge, is given up of God to all unseemly thoughts and deeds. Not easily will they yield to correctives. They are part of the universal human sinfulness, now and here, because of new external conditions, manifesting itself with unusual energy and virulence.

The situation is grave beyond question. The forces of evil are alert, aggressive, and in many quarters victorious. They imperil the most precious interests of ourselves and our posterity. They imperil our institutions and our civilization. They imperil the souls for which Christ died. They summon all right-thinking men to conflict severe, long-continued, and costly in every sense.

But throughout the struggle it is wise to maintain a serene faith and hope. Not otherwise shall we conquer. We may, indeed, exaggerate danger so as to paralyze endeavor. We may even misinterpret Providences to our loss. The Roman Christian, who saw gathering on the declivities of the Alps the portentous cloud of Barbarism, Hun, Goth and Vandal, soon to burst in undistinguishing fury on all the fair lands of the Mediterranean basin, engulfing in a common ruin all that was best and noblest in the ancient civilization, could not discern how the vigor of these new races was in the end to rescue Christianity from perversion and decay. When in 1818 the last faint trace of state religion was overthrown in Connecticut, Dr. Dwight, a man eminent for a calm and judicial

temper, thought that the foundations of religion were giving way , and Lyman Beecher, then a pastor in the State, records his own experience in these words, "It was as dark a day as ever I saw. For several days I suffered what no tongue can tell, for the best thing that ever happened to the Churches."

It is possible thus that some of the things which we fear, things not sinful in themselves, may turn in ways which we do not now know to the furtherance of the Gospel. I speak of urban growths, of immigration, of Romanism in America, and of some forms of socialistic tendency.

Nor must we forget some striking signs of Christian progress with which the nineteenth century is closing ; as, for instance, the better apprehension in the Church of personal Christianity as summed up in love and loyalty to Christ; the greater unity of Christian people as against the divisive tendency of dogma, organization and rite; the proven power of voluntaryism, by which Church provision, the edifice, the preacher and the school, have kept even pace with the westward march of our population; the probable decline of skepticism from that prevalence at the opening of the century of which Chancellor Kent, Dr. Dwight and Bishop Moore speak so emphatically; that gracious growth of the Evangelical Church in the United States, by which it includes in its membership one in five of the people as against one in fourteen in the year 1800 ; and finally that new aggressiveness of modern Christianity by which, from us as from Christian Europe, the Gospel sounds out into all heathen and Mohammedan lands.

Above all, we must encourage ourselves by the declared purpose of our Lord. This land, as all lands, belongs to Him. And it seems no presumption to believe, that, having so singularly reserved this land through the centuries for a new experiment which should be free from many of the hindrances, though rich with the experiences, of European history, He who times all changes in the interests of his Christ will not fail to conduct that experiment to a successful issue. Of the experiment may we not say, even as of the outcome of His whole Mediatorial reign;

> "To doubt would be disloyalty,
> To falter would be sin"?

II. If our perils are great, so also are our opportunities.

A field for unfettered movement lies before the American Church. No human laws control or obstruct it. It can make unrestricted

trial of all the spiritual forces with which it is endowed—of the truth which makes free, of the provisions for human need of which it is the purveyor, of the might of the Holy Spirit. What hinders but its own lack of faith, courage, self devotion?

And already vast resources are in its hands. It has the accumulating prestige of the Christian centuries. It has vast properties in churches, schools, publishing houses, hospitals. It has in the brain and heart and brawn of its members unlimited productive capacity. All that it needs in men and treasure, in knowledge and love, in human accessories and divine aid, are at its command. Its waste would feed the famishing multitudes.

And, moreover, as the heritage of struggling centuries, the American Church is in the midst of a people and of institutions mobile, expectant, ready to be shaped by that form of doctrine into which it shall be delivered. An enlarging church, a purer religion, an invigorated national conscience, would promptly embody themselves in better institutions, better laws, better customs, which in turn would aid to yet larger successes, the system which, in the eyes of all observers, was thus uplifting society.

And such is the position of America among the nations, that the opportunity for the American Church is an opportunity for the world. Is it self-conceit that leads to the belief, common among us, that though America makes no boast of diplomacy, and uses no menace of war, her influence on the thoughts and institutions of the world is far-reaching and irresistible; that society everywhere is stirred profoundly by the fair vision of our liberty ensphered in order, as the depths of ocean answer back to the moon; that with the rising of our national life upon the sight of other lands, a new era of hope dawned upon them? And now, if the American Church can effect a thorough Christianization of American society, can stamp our public and private life with the characters of righteousness and love, can any doubt that the whole world shall note the fact, and by the thousand ties that bind it to us, and by the thousand channels of communication that are opened between us, shall receive a mighty impulse toward the higher life, and so the Kingdom of God be hastened on the earth?

III. Both peril and opportunity summon to co-operation. This hour, beyond other hours formative and prophetic of national destiny, calls to fraternal counsels and concerted action.

That is a striking picture which Merivale, in his "Conversion of

the Roman Empire," gives of the council of Nice, that gathering of the chiefs of the Church, of its masters of theology and of its confessors, to define and declare the Christian doctrine. An important work was then done for all time. But it marks an advance in the Kingdom of God among men, that the great evangelical bodies, having at length reached a *consensus* of essential doctrine (a *consensus* set forth with rare wisdom by the First Evangelical Alliance held in London in 1846), are now disposed to busy themselves less with controversy concerning creeds and governments and ceremonies, and more with the practical application of Christianity to the salvation of individuals and of society. They tend to concord and co-operation.

But limitations suggest themselves.

First. The Alliance under whose auspices this Convention meets at its organization declared, properly and in good faith, its desire and intention neither "to effect an amalgamation of the churches," nor "to interfere in any way whatever with the internal affairs of the various denominations." Whatever larger external unity may be hoped for the Church of the future; whatever wiser economy of men and means, and whatever increase of spiritual power may seem possible in that better relation of the churches, for which all devout souls long—at present neither the Alliance nor this Convention contemplate any criticism or revision or abandonment of denominational organization or methods. No question is raised here touching the necessary constitution of a true church, or the *raison d'etre* of any particular church. Nor do any here believe that the work of Christianizing the American people can be taken out of the hands of the churches as such. Not by disregard of church order, nor by a transfer of individual religious activity from the church sphere to some kindred sphere, is progress possible. With great care, therefore, does the call for this Convention recognize as a somewhat permanent fact the diverse Church life of which we are severally parts. But in this diversity it finds a higher unity. *E pluribus unum* is the motto of the Republic, one and indivisible; *Unum corpus sumus in Christo*, is the inspired legend on the seal of the Evangelical Alliance. The hitherto imperfect recognition of this unity in Christ is one of the sad facts of church history. But it will give way, not by impracticable efforts at uniformity, not by direct efforts to belittle the significance of our characteristic differences, but by a new vision in each church, of the supreme import-

ance of the end for which all churches stand, namely, righteousness, and in single-hearted, earnest effort to secure it for ourselves and our fellows. That vision and that effort will insensibly wear away our bigotries and our self-will. And, thus, in so far as this Convention shall stimulate each church here represented to aggressive activity within its own lines, even if it go no farther, it will have forwarded a genuine co-operation in the service of our common Lord.

Secondly. Salvation is an individual thing. It is personal repentance, personal faith in Christ, personal regeneration by the Holy Ghost. The salvation of a nation is by the salvation of its personal units. The marvelous conquest of the Roman Empire by Christianity was attained by the successive conversion of Lydia, and the jailer, and Dyonisius the Areopagite, and a "woman named Damaris," and then of countless more in every rank of life. Thus also must America be Christianized. Men cannot be evangelized *en masse.* That was the method of Charlemagne, not of Christ. And here, also, is a necessary limitation of Christian co-operation. The result we desire must, to a great degree, be reached by separate work for individual men. No large organization of Christians, however wise and good, and no shrewdly concerted activity of churches, as if massed in military corps, can supplant the divinely appointed agencies of Christianity, to wit, the faithful preaching of the word, and the luminous holiness and personal effort of each believer. Even new and better legislation on social and moral questions, from which many hope so much, is possible only as the result of such simple and separate evangelistic work.

Within the limitations thus named there is large room and demand for Christian co-operation. Much is to be done in cultivating a charity that shall avoid distrust, criticism and interference. Much is to be learned by the study of our diverse methods. Both peril and opportunity will be better apprehended through free consultations. A large habit may be formed of working together for common ends in society and the State; and here the field lies wide before us. Our public-school system is to be maintained, and is to be improved by elementary religious instruction. The Sabbath is to be rescued from public desecration. The drinking usages of society are to be reformed. The periodical press is to be purified. Marriage is to be made inviolable. Political corruption is to be overcome. Justice

for weak and wronged races is to be secured. The slums of great cities are to be redeemed. Nascent States are to be fashioned by the Gospel. Mormonism is to be overthrown. Immigration is to be met at the threshold with Christian and American influences. The Government itself is to be made, as far as practicable, an image of the Divine Sovereingty.

In what form, by what means, these and like ends can be reached are questions to which much of your deliberation will be given. There are none who have a mind to comprehend and a heart to feel the greatness of the issues before the American people, who will not fervently hope that your wisdom and your spirit may contribute largely to the guidance of American Christians in the conflict to which they are called, and all such souls would reverently join in invoking upon you light from Him who is the Light of the world.

Mr. Jay: I know that I anticipate the unanimous wish of this Conference, when I extend to Bishop Andrews our sincere thanks for his cordial, hopeful and most valuable address of welcome. (Applause.) We will now listen to the first paper of the Conference.

THE CITY AS A PERIL.

BY REV. DANIEL DORCHESTER, D. D.,
OF BOSTON.

Massed populations cannot dwell in obscurity. They are the radiating centres of national life.

The rural sections get, not merely their fashions, but their social customs and mold of character from the cities. Cities are moral battle-grounds, potent determining factors of moral progress. The problem of the cities is, therefore, one of the leading problems of our civilization. Under our peculiar civil polity, the solution must come from out of the hearts of the people, by the process of self-government, grounded in intelligence and true virtue.

But first we need to understand the perils of the cities. To unfold these in part (for it can be only partially done, within the limits assigned me, to-day) is my present task. Those who follow, I trust, will discuss other phases of the question.

I. PERIL FROM RAPID GROWTHS OF POPULATIONS.

The tendency to a congestion of populations has been one of the marked phenomena of all history, from the days of Babel to the present time. The teeming populations of Nineveh, Babylon, Carthage, Syracuse and Rome, the cities of Egypt and Greece, are only a few of the more notable of the great centres of the olden times. Nor in our day are these large aggregations of humanity confined to Christian nations. Availing ourselves, as well as we can, of the very imperfect data of non-Christian countries, we find China with 66 cities, whose populations exceed 50,000; 20 exceeding 250,000; and 4 exceeding 1,000,000. India has 25 exceeding 100,000, and 5 exceeding 250,000. Even in Africa, 25 cities exceed 50,000, and 6, 100,000. Japan, with a total population of 36,000,000, holds 2,000,000 in twelve cities of 50,000 and upwards. Even the East Indian Archipelago reports five cities ranging from 50,000 to 160,000 inhabitants. And many entirely barbarous countries are

crowded with swarming masses, living in close contact, though but slightly, if at all, organized as communities.

But it must be confessed that the conditions of the higher Christian civilizations furnish the impulse and also the facilities for larger concentrations of population. While, in Japan, one in 18 of the population are in cities of 50,000 and upwards; in France, the rate is one in 7.5; in the United States one in 7; and in Great Britain, with her more limited territorial area, one in 2.7 inhabitants.

In the United States, these large aggregations of people have been the more remarkable, because of the unparalleled extent of our national area. While the inhabitants have been spreading out into the new Territories, filling up vast solitudes with new, organized communities, so that in the last nine decades the thirteen States increased to 38, and nine great Territories are rapidly maturing to the condition of States, at the same time, the growth of the city populations has been even more wonderful.

At the opening of this century, only six communities of 8,000 inhabitants and over were registered in our national census; the last census numbered 286, with 22.5 per cent. of the total population of the country. The table of the "Fifty Principal Cities," in the last two censuses of the United States, have afforded very impressive exhibits of this important part of our national life. Taking the table for 1880, and constructing similar tables* for the same cities,† in 1870, 1860, 1850 and 1840, we have a good basis for inquiry and deduction. Forty years is a sufficiently long period for testing the questions involved. There are so many temporary ebbs and flows, that shorter periods do not afford satisfactory basis for broad and wise generalizations.

The population of these fifty cities, in forty years, increased sixfold, while that of the whole country increased threefold, or from 7.7 per cent. of the total population of the country in 1840, to 15.5 per cent. in 1880. At the same time the *other* cities of 8,000 inhabitants and upwards increased in an even larger *relative* ratio, though in much smaller aggregates.

When we examine the *relative* increase of these fifty cities in each separate decade, we find the *ratio* steadily declining. The

*See pp. 743, 744 of the forthcoming volume by the author, entitled, "Christianity in the United States, From the First Settlement to the Present Time." Phillips & Hunt, 805 Broadway, New York City. 8 vo. 795 pp.

†San Francisco, Denver, Kansas City, and a few others which did not exist in 1840, are introduced at later dates.

gain from 1840 to 1850, upon the population of 1840, was 78 per cent.; from 1850 to 1860, upon the population of 1850, was 62 per cent.; from 1860 to 1870, upon the population of 1860, was 44 per cent.; from 1870 to 1880, upon the population of 1870, was 37 per cent.

This peculiar exhibit is chiefly due to the large *bases* on which the percentage is calculated in each successive period, but not altogether. The *actual* increase also *relatively* diminishes, and likewise the percentage of gain on the whole population of the country. In each previous decade, the increase of gain on the whole population of the country ranged from two to two and seven-tenths per cent.; but from 1870 to 1880 it was only about three-quarters of one per cent.

While the *relative* increase of the fifty largest cities has thus declined, during the past forty years, that of the rural populations outside of all cities of 8,000 inhabitants and upwards, if we except the decade of the Civil War, has remained nearly uniform, being 29 per cent. in the first two, and 27 per cent. in the last. But this rural population is all the while concentrating more and more in newly forming centres, soon to be added to the list of cities, thus enhancing the importance of the great problem of the cities.

The fact of the great and rapid growth of these centres of population is not, in itself, an unmixed peril. It has its advantages, bringing people near together, so that they can be easily reached, and making Christian labors less obtrusive and open to carping criticism. I give a typical fact: Said a young lady, a Sunday-school teacher in the country, "If my dozen scholars were in a city, I could save them. I could more readily see them than now, scattered as they are over many square miles, and I could bring my influence to bear upon them, without exciting the gossip and opposition I now encounter, from people who know every move I make." In foreign missionary addresses, we have been accustomed to hear reference to the immense populations of Bombay, Siam and other portions of the globe, crowded into small areas and speaking one language, as an encouraging fact, facilitating the work of evangelization.

The question of peril connected with the large cities starts from this point—the rapid growth of the populations, producing great demands for religious provision. The danger is that churches, Sunday-schools and other religious facilities will not be multiplied

sufficiently; that the number of the religious teachers and Christian people, with their varied religious offices, will be inadequate to the spiritual needs of these thriving communities; or that, in the changes of the population which often take place, from the centres to the suburbs of the cities, the older sections will be left unsupplied with churches and the ordinances of religion. To follow up the growth of these great cities, to furnish them with religious influences, to make lodgments of Christian truth in the hearts of these intensely surging masses, and capture and hold them to Christianity, is a task of no small magnitude.

II.—PERIL FROM LARGE ACCESSIONS OF VICIOUS CLASSES.

The manifold, large, corrupt elements concentrating in the cities produce hideous congestions of evil, for such the slums may be characterized. These reinforcements come from several sources.

Our rural districts send valuable additions of virtue, intelligence, enterprise and real stamina; but other classes of a very different type pour into the cities—uneasy, restless, roving adventurers, needy and greedy men and women, thriftless families, many weary of the sweat of honest toil, many whose growing viciousness shuns the light and gaze of village streets, others whose overmastering propensities to evil break from the restraints of said communities and seek large indulgence; others fleeing from the wreck of better fortunes, and others from the wreck of character. With such tides pouring into them, portions of the cities become large festering, fermenting slums.

Commerce, with its great advantages, brings serious disadvantages to the large maritime cities. With their widely extended commercial intercommunication with the whole world, there comes familiarity with the vices of the nations—an enlarged community of vice. The great seaports absorb the concentrated vices of the world, and, in these days of quick and easy transit, the inland cities and rural towns are easily inoculated with every evil virus known in the world-wide community of iniquity. We have quarantine protection against foreign pestilences, but none against foreign vices.

Furthermore the law of growth inheres in sin. Large aggregates of vicious characters intensify evil, and produce monstrous developments of iniquity. Thus large cities become the strongholds of devildom, where "Satan's seat is," and saloonocracy, prostitution, gambling and a long list of nameless wrongs are rampant. Crime multiplies, thrives, claims and often receives immunity. Lechery

riots and putrefies ; groggeries and other dens keep open on Sundays in the face of worthless officials ; filthy performances are allowed to draw crowded houses ; and elaborately furnished gambling hells flourish unnoticed. The slums are Babels of moral confusion, of manifold tongues and manifold crimes, in crowding regiments, besieging and beating back law and order. These terribly lapsed masses seem utterly void of hope or desire for elevation, indifferent to imitation and instruction, and defiant toward remonstrance and warning.

III.—PERIL FROM THE SALOON.

This topic requires treatment here, inasmuch as the saloon holds the centre of its power in the cities. But inasmuch as this topic is to be specially treated as a distinct part of the programme, I will omit the discussion of it.

IV.—THE PERIL OF MISRULE.

The American policy of rule by the people is being put to a severe test. Some time ago we became familiar with the phrase "ring-rule" ; but we have passed far down beyond that, and now hear much of "gang-rule," and "thug-rule." In some cities a large part of the primary meetings are held in low saloons, which good citizens will not enter; and hence the administration of city affairs is determined by the lowest and most corrupt elements of the population. The aldermen and councilmen thus nominated and elected, with the police appointed by them, become a corrupt ring, dominated by political and personal considerations, the baseline of which is subserviency, and all questions of character and intelligence are eliminated. The police of some cities, while comprising many persons entitled to much praise, often include others of brutal instincts, incapable of using properly the formidable weapons and authority which the law places in their hands. Political service or the recommendations of saloon-keepers too often determine the appointment of police. It is the old story of the wolves selecting the dogs to guard the sheepfold.

We read every day instances of violence and gang-rule, but only a small percent is supposed to get into the papers. In some river wards, citizens are terrorized by bands of young ruffians, organized for robbery, drunkenness and debauchery, and murder is not an unfrequent incident. The law-abiding inhabitants are

sometimes helpless, and so overawed as to be afraid to testify against the gang in a court of justice. Police protection is intermittent and culpably inefficient, and crimes against person and property are perpetrated with impunity.

Worse than all, the fountain-head of justice is sometimes submissive to "the gang," and roughs arrested are discharged because they "stand well" with "the boss," usually a saloon-keeper. The overmuch politics with which this country is cursed, and the constantly recurring elections, place the administration of law at the mercy of the ruffianly elements, and ward politics becomes a trade, in which robbery and lawlessness are connived at. Gang-rule prevails wherever ward politicians bid the police stand aside, and force, the police-justice to utter decisions in the interest of disorder.

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, speaking on the "Menaces of Civilization" before the Congregational Club of New York City, said: "In any attempt to reform them by law, would we not find nine-tenths of the city members in the Legislature hostile? The only hope of reform lies in the action of the country members. The average grade of our city politicians is a serious menace to good government. Four-fifths of the representatives at Albany, of New York and Brooklyn, can be depended upon to vote on the wrong side of every question." This, said a leading New York editor, from an observation of twenty years, we believe to be true.

Even the registration lists in these cities, under the manipulation of the gangs, are falsified. Last spring it was said that "not less than 20,000 citizens of St. Louis failed to register" for an important city election, among whom were a large number of persons of "the best moral standing and intelligence, whose business activity contributes largely to the prosperity of the city." On the other hand, the vilest and most vicious elements, we are told, "had their names on the lists and appeared in full force at the polls. The ward politicians gathered them out of all the vile resorts of the city, and used them for their own purposes, regardless of the public welfare."

The St. Louis papers moralized over the degeneracy of the city politics, and put the responsibility upon "the good men who do not vote." But many of the best citizens replied that "for years the registration lists have been the chief instrument used by the worst elements for their fraudulent purposes"; that "the registry

of voters has not afforded the slightest protection against fraudulent voting; that there has not been an honest election in this city for years;" that hotel registers have been transferred to the voting lists, and men have been found to vote upon the names; that the ballot-boxes are often in the hands of men whose Satanic mathematics will produce any kind of election result desired; and that such things are carried on with the connivance of the party in power—and why, therefore, should good men trouble themselves in the vain effort of making an honest ballot overbalance fraudulent returns?

Baltimore has been of late conspicuously referred to as another typical example of a city given over to the misrule of unscrupulous demagogues and corruptionists; ably supported by the criminal classes. Of the judges appointed to supervise a recent municipal election, an authority says, one has been indicted and convicted of crime; another has been indicted, convicted, sent to jail and pardoned; one has been indicted for assault with intent to kill, the sheriff becoming his bail—the case was not pressed; another had been indicted nine times in four years; another, eight times in two years; another had served in jail six months; another, had been indicted for assault with intent to kill; another had been convicted of an infamous crime, etc., etc.

With such a set of "thugs" installed as election judges, how farcical must be the elections! Primary meetings are packed, nominations controlled, elections dictated, and ballots counted to suit. Similar facts are given concerning Cincinnati, Chicago, Albany, the North End of Boston, etc., etc.

V.—PERIL FROM A WIDENING GULF BETWEEN LARGE MASSES AND THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES.

The Papal elements of course stand aloof from our churches, and can be won only with great care and wise, persevering efforts. The large rationalistic and radical socialistic elements which come to our cities settle themselves on the other side of the chasm. The lower vicious elements belong there, by moral gravitation. Our agnostics, native and foreign, have nothing in common with us. But there is a large middle class, many of whom were reared amid the associations of church life in the country, and others once associated with city churches, who have turned away from the sanctuary. Good observers say the breach is widening, especially

in the great cities, and in some sections in the country also, and there are sad signs that in too many places the Church of Christ is getting farther from large masses of the people, instead of nearer.

It is said that the erection of so many costly, magnificent churches, to meet the desires of wealthy, aristocratic families, has conveyed the impression of caste, to less favored people, has increased the cost of church attendance, and has put many families in a position of so great social disparity, that they have felt ill at ease, have withdrawn from the sanctuary, and fallen away from public worship altogether. There have been many complaints of churches of "the few elect, select people;" of churches managed on "the high plane of financial and aristocratic exclusiveness;" of expensive churches, which screw out of the people pew assessments and pew rents, and drive them away from the sanctuary; of churches which have ceased to imitate the great Master who "ate with publicans and sinners," and "went about doing good."

The Sunday newspaper has been an evil factor, and modern skepticism and doctrinal revulsion have had something to do in producing this condition. Large masses, very many of them native population, go upon Sunday excursions instead of attending worship. Many Protestant congregations are small, with large unoccupied spaces in the auditorium. Statistics of non-attendance are freely quoted in newspapers, conferences and assemblies. And though much of the talk is mere pessimistic raving, yet there are genuine facts enough to indicate that there is a great duty to be performed to a large mass of worship-neglecters, and to set us to seriously inquire, How can the bans of union between the Church and the non-worshippers be effected?

VI.—PERILS FROM ELEMENTS HETEROGENEOUS AND LARGELY DEFIANTLY HOSTILE.

A citizenship unassimilated into the national, moral and religious life of any people is a peril. We are unable to produce from the pages of history an example of a nation so greatly exposed to peril at this point as our own; and the sources of this peril are concentrating in the large cities more than anywhere else.

If the new additions to our city population were homogeneous in race and general ideas, the case would be more tolerable. How different is London, with only 1.6 per cent. of its immense popu-

lation born outside of the British Isles! How much easier there the work of reform, philanthropy and evangelization than in the heterogeneous populations of our American cities! In our urban centres we find every conceivable nationality, as well as all shades of religion, the darker shadows of no religion, and many owning supreme allegiance to a foreign Pontiff. The tables of the United States Census, showing the foreign-born population of the "Fifty Principal Cities," show that there are in them people from—

Africa (not specified)	in 40 cities.	Holland	in 50 cities.
Asia (not specified)	" 30 "	Hungary	" 46 "
Atlantic Islands	" 33 "	India	" 45 "
Australia	" 47 "	Italy	" 49 "
Austria	" 50 "	Japan	" 16 "
Belgium	" 46 "	Luxemburg	" 34 "
Bohemia	" 46 "	Malta	" 20 "
British America	" 50 "	Mexico	" 40 "
Central America	" 22 "	Norway	" 48 "
China	" 46 "	Pacific Islands	" 24 "
Cuba	" 41 "	Poland	" 50 "
Denmark	" 50 "	Portugal	" 33 "
Europe (not specified)	" 42 "	Russia	" 50 "
France	" 50 "	Sandwich Islands	" 32 "
German Empire	" 50 "	South America	" 49 "
England	" 50 "	Spain	" 48 "
Ireland	" 50 "	Sweden	" 50 "
Scotland	" 50 "	Switzerland	" 50 "
Wales	" 50 "	Turkey	" 33 "
Greece	" 32 "	West Indies	" 47 "
Greenland	" 12 "		

What more striking exhibit of the wide distribution of the most diverse elements in our large cities! What a polyglot population! The natives of fourteen of the localities are in every one of the fifty principal cities; those of fifteen other localities are in between forty and fifty of the cities, and the natives of only five localities are in less than half of the fifty cities.

The foreign-born population of these fifty cities was, in 1850, 37.1 per cent. of their total population; in 1860, 38.3 per cent.; in 1870, 34.1 per cent.; in 1880, 29.8 per cent., or 8.5 per cent. less than in 1860. This small relative decline in the percentage of the foreign-born to the whole population of these cities, should be considered in connection with the large mass of those essentially foreign, being foreign in the second or third degree.

Those, one or both of whose parents are foreign born, sustain

the closest relations to foreign customs and ideas. The United States Census for 1880 gave the number of this latter class for the whole country; but only for the city of New York, as a separate locality. In that city 39 per cent. of the whole number of inhabitants were foreign born; adding the other class, we have 80.1 per cent. either foreign born, or one or both of whose parents were foreign born. The Census of Massachusetts, taken in 1885, gives these two classes, in Boston, at 67 per cent.; in Lawrence, 77.4 per cent.; in Fall River, 81.3 per cent.; in Holyoke, 82.7 per cent., and in sixty-five towns and cities in Massachusetts, at 65.1 per cent.

The foreign elements in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, and some other cities will probably rank nearly or quite with New York City, both classes combined being about double the number of those actually born in foreign lands; and in most other large cities about 80 per cent. more than those foreign in the first degree. Taking the whole fifty cities, probably it will be safe to say that at least 54 per cent. of their inhabitants are of the first and second degree foreign, which gives us a foreign element of 4,194,617 in the "Fifty Principal Cities." If these cities had no larger foreign element relatively than the city of London there would be only 225,000 persons in all of them of the first two degrees foreign, or about one-nineteenth as many as we now have.

How diverse the civilizations, the religious ideas, the social customs, the culture and no-culture of our new-comers! Among them are some, a goodly number, whom we are glad to recognize, welcome and honor, as desirable additions to our citizenship. With liberal allowance for such, nevertheless, it will not be denied that, as a whole, these heterogeneous masses, with habits, sympathies, political and religious predilections, so unlike and positively antagonistic to those of our native population, have weighed heavily against us. Coming in large crowds, pouring into the principal cities often as new and distinct nationalities, keeping up "Old World" customs, introducing their crude and sometimes revolutionary opinions into our elections, massing their forces, and effectively controlling them, they have set aside the American Sabbath, opened Sunday theatres, beer gardens, infidel clubs, communistic societies and anarchistic leagues, inaugurating mobocracy, and copiously filling up the ranks of the social outcasts.

In these facts lie the most serious perils of the cities. How

greviously have morals been debauched, pauperism, insanity and crime augmented, and moral progress retarded by these exotic masses. The problem of city evangelization has been inconceivably enhanced in difficulty, and its solution indefinitely postponed, by this continual addition of these radical socialistic pauper and criminal classes, as too many of them have been. Under such circumstances it has become a grave question, Can OLD WORLD SUBJECTS BE TRANSFORMED INTO NEW WORLD CITIZENS?

Our cities, more than any other part of the country, have received large installments of foreign radicalism. The communistic, anarchistic and other radical revolutionary theories, assailing government, social order, and religion, have been promulgated in the largest centres of our population. The spirit of atheism is in the air. It comes largely from the Old World. It steams up from the slums. It organizes in leagues. It has its presses. Large batches of organs of atheism and socialism are published in New York and Chicago. They proclaim anarchy as a scheme of freedom; and freedom is a popular word. Inflammable edicts issue from the atheistic press, outspoken, defiant, steeped in the spirit of denial, frothing with venom, and so shocking with rage that our blood chills as we read them. They are disseminated with a dead-in-earnest zeal and diligence. These are the worst classes of our foreign born populations.

"Fourteen or fifteen centuries ago," said a writer in the *Congregationalist*, "our British ancestry asked the Anglo-Saxons to help them in their struggles against the Picts and Scots. The Saxons complied with their request, but after the enemy had been defeated, remained to hold sway over the Britons." Are we not repeating the old experiment? Our Western cities are rapidly becoming Germanized and our New England cities Irishized. We are being dominated by those who have been invited to share in, not to overturn, our beneficent institutions. The aggressive radicalism of our adopted German citizens has already projected crises in more than one of our great cities, and Boston and some other New England cities are shuddering over their dubious prospects.

VII.—PERIL FROM ROMANISM.

The most prominent antagonism to our religious life comes in an *organized* form, dominated and directed by a foreign pontiff, who

assumes to include educational, social, religious and political matters within the scope of his administration.

Romanism has concentrated her adherents in the cities. Take out these elements, and carry us back to the condition in 1850, and how different the city problem! The multiplication of large and imposing churches and other ecclesiastical edifices, by the Roman Catholic Church, has greatly impressed the public and excited alarm in some quarters. Exaggerated random statements in regard to their numbers are often paraded before the public. No exact data exist to tell the numerical strength of Roman Catholic adherents in the cities. The most satisfactory statistics are those of their churches and priests, as given in their Year Books.

Taking the "Fifty Principal Cities," and covering the period from 1850 to 1886, we find:

1850	Churches,	170	Priests, 336
1860	"	312	" 565
1870	"	495	" 1031
1880	"	676	" 1562
1886	"	825	" 1892

Comparing with the total population of these cities, we find:

1850,	One church for	14,221	inhabitants.		One priest for	7,295	inhabitants.			
1860,	"	"	"	12,620	"	"	"	"	6,989	"
1870,	"	"	"	11,486	"	"	"	"	5,516	"
1880,	"	"	"	11,530	"	"	"	"	4,991	"

Here is a gain upon the population, in the number of the priests, down to 1880, the latest date for which we have the population of the cities for comparison. There is a gain in the number of the churches down to 1870, since which date they slightly failed to keep pace with the population, there being forty-four more inhabitants to one church in 1880 than in 1870. An examination of the preceding table will justify the inference that the actual increase of both the churches and the priests, from 1880 to 1886, has been relatively less than in the previous decades. From 1880 to 1886, in twenty-five of the principal cities the Roman Catholics gained only fourteen churches. In the other twenty-five cities they gained 135 churches. From all these facts, it seems that they have passed the period of their most rapid numerical growth in the large cities, as can also be shown to be the case in the country at large.

Considering the large foreign increment in the population of the

cities, and that fully three-fifths has been originally from Roman Catholic stock, the fact that they increased their churches in the whole fifty cities in thirty years only 506, an average of ten in each, or one-third of a church a year in each city is not very remarkable.

As to the size of their church edifices, the number of worshipers, and the number of different services on each Sunday, we have no data. We know, however, from common observation, that they have several services every Sunday which is also true of most Protestant churches, and that their audiences are larger, as a whole, than those of Protestant churches. And yet it is true that very many of *their* people are becoming accustomed to absent themselves from public worship, except on two or three Sabbaths each year, as it is true also of too many Protestants.

In this necessarily brief statement we should not overlook the very close, detailed and effective organization of its forces which the Roman Catholic Church is making, with a view to supplementing the decline of its former large gains by immigration. Its religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods, its educational and charitable institutions, are widely organized, and nowhere so effectively exert their power as in the cities. A brief summary for four cities, not at all exceptional in the list, will serve to impress us with what they are doing.

They report for the city of Baltimore fifteen conventional houses of sisters, besides six monasteries, or residences of brotherhoods, seventeen charitable institutions (orphanages, refuges, hospitals, etc.), with about 2,000 inmates, twenty-seven parochial schools with 7,000 pupils, a theological seminary with 220 students, and one Jesuit college with 129 students.

In the city of Boston are six convents, thirteen charitable institutions with 3,365 inmates and 9,809 out-door patients, fourteen parish schools with 5,885 pupils, and a Jesuit college with 300 students of all grades.

In Cincinnati they report ten charitable institutions, with 2,668 inmates, twenty-four parochial schools with 10,675 pupils, fourteen religious communities (convents, monasteries or residences), with 664 brothers, sisters, novices, etc., one Jesuit college with 300 students, one college of the Congregation of the Holy Cross with 200 students, and a gymnasium or classical school for young men aspiring to the priesthood, with fifty students.

In Chicago are reported forty-seven convents and other religious

communities of men and women, with over 600 brothers and sisters, fourteen charitable institutions, sixty parochial schools with 28,051 pupils, and one Jesuit college with 274 students, besides several seminaries.

Similar exhibits of Romanism might be given of almost all the large cities. They indicate that Romanism expects to stay among us, is shrewdly planning to take care of its people, to gather and attach to Rome, orphans, foundlings, etc., and to win the favor of the general public by its hospitals, industrial schools and dispensaries.

Nor should the increase of Roman Catholic churches be regarded as an unmixed evil. In some respects it is an encouraging indication. Without these religious agencies, how could our foreign masses be held in check and controlled, especially in times of panic and other provocations to violence. The argument might be extended further.

Nevertheless, we believe that Protestantism would do these masses more good than Romanism, if we could have access to them. More than that, we believe that the Roman Catholic Church is inimical to the best progress of society, and in direct antagonism to the historic religion of the nation—the religion of the Holy Scriptures. We can, therefore, by no means relinquish the cities to their control, but must regard the entire population of the cities as comprised in our commission to preach the Gospel to every creature.

It is an important inquiry, How have the evangelical Protestant churches represented in this Alliance competed with Romanism and with the population in these "Fifty Principal Cities"?

It is a matter of regret that only a few denominations publish their statistics in such a form that they are available for comparisons covering a period of forty years, in these fifty cities. We are confined to the following: The Presbyterians, embracing the Old School and the New School while separated, and the Southern General Assembly since its secession in 1861; the Methodist Episcopal and the Methodist Episcopal South; the Congregationalists; and the Reformed (late Dutch) Church. For the sake of convenience, we will call these six denominations. The statistics show, in 1850, 3,680 inhabitants of all classes to one church. In 1880, 5,375; in 1850, 2,686 inhabitants to one minister. In 1880, 3,551 inhabitants, a steady falling behind the population in both items. Since 1880,

however, these churches and ministers increased more rapidly than in previous periods.

As compared with the Roman Catholics, while the latter gained largely upon the population, yet they started from a very small basis in 1850. From 1850 to 1886 the Roman Catholic increase was 655 churches, and that of the aforementioned denominations was 1,057 churches.

But this comparison does not do justice to the evangelical Protestant denominations. Turning to the directories of seven large cities, to which I have had convenient access, viz.: Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Providence, Boston, Cincinnati and Chicago—we find in 1886 1,027 evangelical churches, in addition to those of the six denominations mentioned in the former calculation, which, when combined with those of the six denominations, show one evangelical church in 2,102 inhabitants in these seven large cities, and one Roman Catholic church in 12,552 inhabitants, calculated on the population in 1880 in the same cities, or, relatively to the population, six times as many evangelical Protestant churches as Roman Catholic. We doubt not the whole fifty cities would give a still more favorable showing for our churches.

Thus far I have spoken of the *average* number of churches in the *whole population.* If I should pause here my work would be faulty, overlooking the destitute localities or sections in many of the large cities, owing in the older cities to the migration of the population to the newer portions and the suburbs, transferring the churches with them. Many old churches, after a long struggle to maintain an existence, have been closed, and been converted to secular uses. Thus large masses of people are left unprovided for. Typical facts will be cited which can be paralleled in most of the older cities.

The *Interior* says that in Chicago there is a district containing 50,000 people, with Sunday-school accommodations for only 2,000; that it is full of theatres, saloons and gambling dens; that in one year 7,200 boys and girls are arrested for petty crimes; that the churches do not care for that district; they are looking after the avenues.

An authority says that in New York City there is a section containing 50,000 inhabitants, 25,000 of whom are non-Roman Catholics, with only one chapel, having accommodations for 400 people, and 287 liquor saloons; while some other sections of the city have a congestion of churches.

Another authority says that six Assembly Districts in New York City, with an aggregate population of 360,340 in 1880, had 3,018 saloons and thirty-one Protestant churches—a saloon to every 118 persons and a Protestant church to every 11,624 persons. In the Twentieth District there is said to be one Protestant church to 20,246 inhabitants, and a saloon to every 222. This is not quite as bad as Berlin, in many districts of which, according to Professor Christlieb, there was only one church for every 50,000 of the population.

We suggest the query whether there may not be in Berlin some Baptist, Methodist or other missions which have been ignored in some of those localities, owing to the strong prejudices of the State churches against these irregular interloping bodies, as they are inclined to regard them. And is it not possible that in some of the districts of New York just referred to, there may be German, Scandinavian, Disciple, African or other evangelical bodies performing good work for Christ in some unpretentious edifice, or in halls?

With due allowance, it still remains that there is an alarming destitution of provision for religious worship in large sections of our great cities. The greater destitution of Berlin does not help us.

We have said the number of the churches does not show all that is involved in the case. We are anxious to know how far the evangelical Protestant churches are reaching the people. Some elements in the case, we are fully aware, cannot be tested by any kind of statistics, and yet ye cannot dispense with statistics. They give us approximate ideas of things. The comparison of the number of the communicants with the population will help us somewhat. But only the data furnished by the six denominations referred to are obtainable, for these fifty principal cities, as follows:

1840.	Communicants,	104,706	Inhabitants to one communicant;			12.67
1850,	"	157,933	"	"	"	15.30
1860,	"	222,625	"	"	"	17.33
1870,	"	298,474	"	"	"	19.05
1880,	"	414,184	"	"	"	18.81
1886,	"	496,694	No census of population for this year.			

Here is a very large actual increase—almost fivefold in 46 years.

But it appears that these six denominations combined, steadily fell behind the populations of the fifty cities in each decade from

1840 to 1870; that from 1870 to 1880 they gained a very little on the population—.24 of one person—not a very flattering exhibit, certainly; but a great improvement upon the three previous decades, in each of which they lost on an average more than two persons.

Though there can be no comparison with the population in 1886, yet the rate of increase since 1880 has been a little better than from 1870 to 1880; the average yearly increase since 1880 has been eleven more churches and 2,177 more communicants than the average yearly increase of the previous decades.

It should also be mentioned that some of the most flourishing denominations—the Baptists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, African, Methodists, Disciples, etc., etc., some of which during the last thirty years have had the greatest growths of their entire history—have been from necessity left out of these calculations. If their statistics could have been included, the case would have looked still better.

When we consider that during this period in which we have been making these comparisons we have had immense additions of foreigners, full three-fourths of whom have been non-Protestant and count against us in our comparisons, that these six denominations fell a little behind the population from 1840 to 1870, will not seem strange. That they have gained a little on the population since 1870, is full of encouraging significance.

The numerous efforts for city evangelization, more extensively organized since 1870 than ever before, are developing encouraging results. The Young Men's Christian Associations and the powerful evangelistic labors of Messrs. Moody, Pentecost, Jones, etc., have all contributed to this result. The relative decline of Roman Catholic immigration, and the large Protestant immigration since 1870, have also been helping factors.

While looking at the perils of the present time, let us not pessimise the situation. There is a judicial view of the case, which will not diminish our sense of present responsibility, but will give a healthier, steadier and more courageous tone to our efforts. It is very doubtful whether any such aggressive Christianity, in large cities, can be cited from the history of any of the previous Christian centuries; certainly not in the last two centuries, as we have witnessed in our large cities during the last forty-six years. The Protestant churches of the few cities in this country,

and in the larger and more numerous cities of Great Britain, and all other Protestant countries, during the last century, were in a low, cold, stagnant condition, wholly unaggressive. In the last half of the last century, there was a little waking up in Great Britain, but nothing like what we have witnessed here in the last fifty years. Had we possessed no more vital power than the churches of the last century, and of almost all of the previous Christian centuries, with the great tides of foreign immigration, Romanism, rationalism and socialism coming in upon us, we would have been utterly swamped, and our churches would have wholly disappeared from the cities. We must recognize the value of the breakwater, that has kept us from being submerged; the Eddystone light-houses that have stood firmly where dreadful waves have been breaking; the last havens maintained where stores and comfort and refuge have been offered to wild, venturesome voyagers. That under such circumstances these six denominations have increased their communicants nearly fivefold in forty-six years, and, in the last sixteen years, have begun to gain a little upon the fearful odds of the whole polyglot population, is occasion for thanksgiving and inspires courage for the future.

We are learning that the large metropolitan cities contain not only the concentrated *vices* of the world, but also the intensest concentrations of *good forces*. While these large aggregations of evil have been gathering, we have also been organizing and centrating in the cities, great benevolent, philanthropic, educational and evangelizing societies and boards, for which only the feeblest parallels could be found from one hundred to two hundred years ago, and in many large cities no parallels at all.

When we become depressed and gloomy over the great corruptions of our large cities, and feel like sinking under the discouraging prospect, let us read what Leckey says about the great cities of Great Britain in the last century, and then turn to the still grosser condition of the cities of the European continent at that time. The evils we see in our American cities impress us deeply, because we see them in the background of the clearest Christian civilization that ever illumined the world. The old Roman world never looked so dark and revolting as it did after Christianity poured into it her divine illumination.

Where can we point, in long centuries, to religious triumphs, aside from those which occurred under the Wesleyan revival in

England, in the last century, that can parallel the spiritual achievements at the Five Points in New York, and in the slums of other cities, in the last fifty years? These dark haunts are darker and harder than the Feejee and Society islands in the days of their savagery; but Jerry McAuley and others, as imbruted as the demoniac at Gadara, have been lifted from their debasement and clothed in their right minds. Some of the grandest triumphs of the Gospel in this century have been achieved in American cities. What we want is greater faith in God and in His Gospel to save the vilest and worst of men. The cities are fields for the achievement of the sublimest results, and our Divine Saviour is able to save them, if His church will follow His leadership.

Let us join with Dr. Guthrie in saying: "I bless God for cities. I recognize a wise and gracious providence in their existence. The world had not been what it is without them. The disciples were commanded to 'begin at Jerusalem;' and Paul threw himself into the cities of the ancient world, as offering the most commanding positions of influence. Cities have been as lamps of light along the pathway of humanity and religion. Within them science has given birth to her noblest discovery. Behind their walls freedom has fought her noblest battles. They have stood on the surface of the earth like great breakwaters, rolling back or turning aside the swelling tide of oppression. Cities have been indeed the cradle of human liberty. They have been the radiating, active centres of almost all church and state reformations.

"Having, therefore, no sympathy with those who, regarding them as the excrescenses of a tree or the tumors of a disease, would raze our cities to the ground, I bless God for cities."

Let the motto, then, of this Alliance be, *capture and hold the cities for Christ*, as the vital strategic points of His advancing kingdom.

THE CITY AS A PERIL,

BY REV. SIMON J. McPHERSON, D. D., OF CHICAGO, ILL.

MR. PRESIDENT: No hater of the city can faithfully set forth its perils. Cherishing for the city the fondness of Samuel Johnson or Charles Lamb, we may well thank God for its rich blessings. These, however, require neither vigilance nor restraint. They reveal themselves. They can do no harm. But perils love the darkness, and must be detected and faced before we can remove them. They thrive on our neglect. It is an ungracious task, which one dislikes, to speak of the perils without mentioning remedies. But perils are the symptoms of disease. Discovered perils are opportunities and incentives to disciples of the Great Physician. Thorough diagnosis must precede and determine the treatment which will cure.

Nor may the watchman who blows the trumpet and warns the people be a pessimist any more than an optimist. He must see and estimate the actual facts. Optimism begets false security and languid indifference; but pessimism leads to bitter despair of heart and nerveless paralysis of life. We need not believe that the city is wholly evil or that it monopolizes the perils of the hour, but we may well accept the literal accuracy of Carlyle's exclamation, "What a fermenting vat lies simmering *and hidden* in the city." The average modern city, doubtless, has far more than enough righteous men to save it from the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah; yet it contains, at the same time, the characteristic elements of their wickedness.

If our civilizations ever should perish, like those which have preceded, death would seem sure to begin, not with mere sluggishness of circulation at the extremities, but with failure at the vital centres—with fatty degeneration of the heart.

The city has always been the decisive battle-ground of civilization and religion. That capital fact puts awful emphasis upon both

its perils and its safeguards. Human nature, indeed, is essentially the same in the city as in the country. Sinfulness, at least, is a pretty constant quantity. But while the country usually stands for leisure, the city stimulates and intensifies all the natural dispositions and tendencies of man, especially of fallen man. The city is an artificial congestion of population. When the blood flows without interference, the temperature remains normal; but if it is forced or arrested on its course, a fever breaks out. Hence, from its fomented energies, as well as from its greater weight of numbers, the city is apt to control. In ancient history, Nineveh appears to be almost a synonym for Assyria; Athens, for the art and philosophy of Greece; Rome, for the empire of law and arms. Their civilizations rose and fell with them. In the modern world there is a similar urban dominance. Not only does St. Petersburg dictate terms to Russia; Constantinople, to Turkey; and Madrid, to effete Spain; but the whole of Occidental civilization turns for its fashions, in dress, to Paris; in philosophy, to Berlin; in finance, to London. In the New World, Boston, as Dr. Strong says, is the storm-centre of New England weather. Chicago, the Western metropolis, has a mother's influence, for weal or woe, upon millions of her migratory children. Washington absorbs the attention of hundreds of political newspapers from coast to slope. All American roads lead to New York. It is hardly too much to say—as goes the city, so goes the world.

The gospel must follow these autocratic lines of influence. Our Saviour himself seems to command it. His great commission enjoins "that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all the nations, *beginning at Jerusalem*," the religious capital. It was his own missionary method, obediently adopted by St. Paul, to make every city the nucleus of developing activities. The result was, that opposition to Christianity came to be known as paganism, or the life of the rural districts. The inertia of rest kept them long lingering in heathenism, until the gravitation of the city at length attracted them to the Cross.

This perilous importance of the city has, in every age, been enhanced by the corresponding fact, that bad men have been quick to utilize it as the fountain-head of their radiating streams of evil. Every one of the urgent perils, like immigration, ultramontanism, divorce, the social evil, the saloon, the conflict between labor and capital, which specialists are to discuss at this Conference, has its

chief base of operations in the city. There, in the citadel of each, the duel between Christ and anti-Christ becomes climacteric, hand to hand, to the death. There we must hold highest the Christian standard, with its crimson dye of Calvary, its white of holy love. its blue of heavenly truth—the American banner Christianized ; for just there is the crisis of battle, where it must meet at close quarters the flaming flag of mingled sins and the black flag of eternal death, the fitting emblems of diabolic anarchy. There also the hostile hosts of Peril are most deeply intrenched, behind the earthworks of permanent worldly advantages.

One of these, for example, is found in the facilities for concealment which a city affords to their crimes and vices. The country and the village force people to live in the light. But sinners of the city can lurk in the ambush of a great crowd, and lie in wait for their prey. The sobering influence of a settled home, an established domicile, and an acquaintance with their neighbors, is largely removed. Thus, the very isolation of a city may seduce men to irresponsible and sheltered deeds of darkness.

The garrisons of anti-Christ obtain another bulwark in the physical perils of city life. Squalor and disease are natural defenses of sin. Difficulty in securing pure air, pure water and pure food tend to put virtue out of reach. The sewer describes in parable the waste and the contamination which flow beneath the surface of every city. You remember Victor Hugo's rhetorical treatment of the subject in "Les Miserables." "The history of men," he says, "is reflected in the history of the sewers, and the Gemoniæ narrated the story of Rome. The drain in old Paris is the meeting-place of all exhaustions and all experiments; political ecomony sees there a detritus, and social philosophy a residuum. It was in the sewer of Paris that Jean Valjean found himself." The tenement is a kind of open cesspool, both material and moral; and we need take but two steps even from the refined parlor itself to the home of the deadly sewer-gas. Christianity must never forget that the soul's destiny is closely linked with that of the body. Christ's mission included miracles of healing as well as preaching the gospel to the poor. The peril of the city may thus fortify itself behind the complications of our twofold nature.

An allied peril of the city is, that it arms the enemies of God with a panoply of bad habits. The primary one, perhaps, is seen in that pre-occupation of mind which leaves to many men neither time nor

energy for the consideration of their spiritual interests. In the country, notwithstanding railways and telegraphs, books and periodicals, religion still has fewer rivals than in the city, where business and society are often so absorbing that Jesus may knock unheard at the heart's door, until the weary heart ceases to beat. This habit is fostered in the city also by the multitude of diverse activities, which break up continuity of thought by the allurements of frivolous and sometimes degrading amusements, which render the cultivated soil of character shallow or base, and by the fierce strife for wealth and position, which corrupts and secularizes the heart.

Around this interior habit of mind, others inevitably crystallize. Gradually the city deposits the shell of conventional and artificial life, which divorces action from reflection, and compresses the susceptibilities and aspirations of normal manhood within an incrusted coat of mail. The arrows of truth are parried from the conscience. The springs of good impulse are sealed. Custom shuts out the true perspective, and the things of vital importance can be no longer discerned. Learning is shackled with pedants ; society, with mannerists; the church, with Pharisees.

There follow naturally the gradations of caste, which first divides the world into classes, and then keeps men apart and antipathetic, like Hindoos. The problems of city life thus become so involved that the well disposed are tempted to give up in despair; and the selfish, ignoring public perils, devote themselves to luxurious indulgence.

Thence emerges the consequent peril of skepticism, which seems indigenous in cities. "What is truth ?" scornfully ask the Pilates who are bred to urban ways. Amidst its continual unrest, the city is terribly endangered by the witchery of easy new theories, and by experimenting with patchwork reforms. This is especially true now, when mechanical inventions eclipse the old miracles of mythology. The progress of our time is a giant Polyphemus, going forward at tremendous strides, seeing clearly whatever he can see at all, but keeping his single eye fixed on material things. Wordsworth complained in his day that plain living and high thinking were no more. Principal Shairp retorts in our day that plain thinking and high living are the all in all. The city, where modern life concentrates, grows quickly impatient with Christ's deep-cutting requirement of regeneration. Entertaining vague and exag-

gerated hopes of what physical science may do for the removal of moral maladies, it consents to have its hurts healed slightly. It doubts and doubts, like one superficial and blasé.

Now if these specimen phenomena of the enduring life of the city indicate its permanent peril, how enormously is that peril swelled by the unparalleled change in modern social conditions! Novelty itself is a peril, because it lacks the safeguards of experience and precedent. It is undoubtedly true, as Dr. Dorchester has shown, that great cities were never before so numerous or populous as now; and it is certain that the growth of the city at the expense of the country has been more rapid within sixty years than in any preceding period of history. Vienna and Berlin, as Mr. Loomis reminds us in his "Modern Cities," are each nearly equal to Gibbon's estimate of ancient Rome. Paris is almost twice as large. London is four times as populous; yet, only with about one-fifth of the total population of Great Britain, it has about one third of the city population of that island. Thirty per cent. of the population of Massachusetts lives within twelve miles of the State House, and the same proportion of the people of Illinois live in Chicago. New York City, with its immediate environs, has almost as many inhabitants as all the rest of the great Empire State, including the inland cities. The census of 1880 shows the ominous general ratio of growth in cities. In 1820, 4.9 per cent. of the entire population of the United States lived in cities; in 1840, 8½ per cent.; in 1860, 16.1 per cent.; in 1880, 22½ per cent; and in 1890 it is likely to approximate 30 per cent. These facts in themselves alone create a crisis of peril. They aggravate all the old perils, and they are accompanied by new perils that are even more threatening.

As Dr. Dorchester has impressively intimated, there probably never was a population at once so largely foreign and so heterogeneous as ours. While London has only about 2 per cent. of foreign-born inhabitants, the whole of our new nation, in 1880, averaged over 12 per cent; and every large city had a far greater proportion. For instance, Philadelphia County had 24 per cent.; the counties containing Boston and St. Louis, each about 30 per cent.; those including New York and Chicago, nearly 40 per cent.; and San Francisco County, 44½ per cent. At the same time, each aggregate represented some forty nationalities. Of course, the early colonists of America were also foreigners, but they were usually

homogeneous in their new communities, and they generally came from the better classes of the Old World. But our immigrants are of all kinds, and chiefly from the lower elements. They include not only honest workmen, but also Jesuits and other plotters, visionaries and revolutionists, communists and anarchists, exiles and sometimes Government paupers, from almost every nation under heaven, Christian, infidel or heathen. The worst of them commonly settle as parasites in the large cities. Moreover, they frequently aggregate in separate localities, speaking foreign languages, maintaining foreign customs, and perhaps propagating alien religions or irreligions. For example, in our city of Chicago, which is really typical rather than exceptional, we have some 30,000 Bohemians gathered in distinct congeries. Their women are superstitious Romanists; their men, generally, apostate Romanists. There are hardly five evangelical preachers in the land that can speak their language. They form a missionary field, as isolated and as foreign as that of the Indians, Mormons or Chinese. Something of the same isolation, at least, widely marks in our greater cities the far more numerous Germans, who are now the mightiest nation in the world, perhaps, for both persistence and colonization. Cæsar, we know, boasted that he had driven them back, finally, beyond the Rhine, and yet within three centuries they were sitting on Cæsar's throne. Long ago they transfused their blood into the veins of Great Britain. To-day, although they are among the few European races still occupying the ancestral home in which history finds them, they are at the same time busy colonizing half of Christendom; they continue to multiply in undiminished numbers; and everywhere they stubbornly cling to their social customs, which are indeed predominantly Christian but which show traces of their hereditary paganism. With many admirable virtues as citizens, they are frequently deficient in spiritual religion. The question is, whether the American city is to assimilate these agglomerations, or is to be assimilated by them.

This massing of foreign populations in the city is largely responsible, together with our greed of money-getting and our vehemence in pleasure-seeking, for the new and perilous desecration of our Christian day of rest and worship. Centuries of experience show that the religion of Christ must keep or lose spiritual power in almost exact proportion as the scriptural Sabbath is hallowed or profaned. As we learn to fill consecrated time with secular thoughts,

like those of the Sunday newspaper; with unnecessary and merciless secular works, like those of many corporations; with secular pleasures, like those of the Sunday theatres; and even with secular sins, like those of the saloon—we so far agree to abandon the Sabbath, and to content ourselves with the low type of Christianity so widely prevailing on the continent of Europe. Are our American cities, still largely within reach of the control of descendants of Puritans, Huguenots and Covenanters, ready to do that? Here is an involved peril which is comparatively new to our churches.

New also are the perils of Romanism and the saloon, which Dr. Dorchester discussed. Take the saloon—while drinking intoxicating liquors to excess is no new thing for northern races, our system of drinking has pernicious elements of novelty. The maddening strength, the poisonous adulterations, and perhaps the cheapness, of our liquors are relatively new. Our drinking customs also have degenerated; for the bar has largely supplanted the sideboard, and so far removed the decent restraints of the home. The organization of the traffic is new—new in the formation of great whisky and beer "trusts" for economy of manufacture and for control of drinking-places, new in its systematic creation of drinking habits to keep up the demand for its wares, new in frequent alliances with gross moral evils, like lust and gambling, to enlarge its business by combining enticements to several human passions at once, and new in methodically coercing and corrupting political candidates and parties for its selfish moneyed interests. Whatever plan of meeting it you may advocate, you cannot ignore the monstrous novelty of the peril.

This suggests the new, general and cumulative political perils of the city. While the city is growing, our "boodlers," in many centres, at least, are multiplying. Their huge temptations increase with their increasing opportunities. Why? Because municipal government, which is at once the touchstone and the Gordian knot of all the forms of government, has assumed appalling proportions and perplexities. Because intelligent citizens, who ought to be volunteer tribunes of the people, fall into despair or become possessed with the demon of covetousness. Because their abdicated throne is often usurped by unscrupulous demagogues and by the ignorant, irresponsible and even purchasable electors, who also belong to the royal family in our republican form of government.

This is a peril of the Church, because it is a peril to human nature and because the only cure for it is the redemption of the individual.

Another peril, with new features, is seen in the fact that the city is buffeted back and forth between selfish wealth and no less selfish poverty. Mammon is the god. We look out upon our broad and rich domain, producing almost every known variety of plant and animal; we look up toward our two lordly mountain systems, which span the nation like the buttresses of some gigantic bridge and lift us above the water level; we look down into the depths of the earth at the retorts of gas, seas of oil, forests of coal and vaults of precious stones, which form our tempting treasure-trove; we look around to our matchless array of lakes and rivers, which both feed and drain the continent like the blood-vessels of a human body; we look abroad over our two great ocean highways, defending our coast, indenting it with the best of harbors, and spurring us on to compete fearlessly for the commerce of mankind; and as our hearts dilate with pride in contemplating the exhaustless material resources of this virgin land, we disdain to have our spirits ruled by the meek and lowly Nazarene. This supposititious omnipotence of wealth sets up a wrong standard, for it relegates character to the background. It tempts young men to believe that society adopts the motto of "Every Man in his Humor:" "Get money; still get money, boys; no matter by what means." It inspires the craze for speculation, which "maketh haste to be rich and hath an evil eye," which undermines sound and honest business methods, and which fancies that opulence can be legitimately gained by some sort of gambling without being earned. It fosters greedy monopolies. It eats the heart out of public spirit and Christian love, and absorbs man in the dirt-philosophy of his muck-rake. It cankers those who are unsuccessful along the avaricious line of living with bitter disappointment and hatred,which cruelly divide and enfeeble society. It encourages some of them to adopt chimerical schemes of social reorganization or disorganization, which are all vitiated by the simple fact that "out of the heart are the issues of life." It affords plausible grounds for those wretched appeals which anarchy makes to the discontented poor. The real peril of anarchy is also the peril of avarice, namely, the deadly selfishness of sin. Our peril is lest we should mistake the true remedy for this fundamental evil. Chicago is about the only American city that succeeds in the legal suppression of anarchism. Johann Most ought to have lived in

Chicago last year; for, in that case, he would now be out of reach of the petty penalties of a New York court. But not even Chicago's legal treatment can penetrate to the seat of this malady. Human law can deal with it only as a skin disease. But essentially, anarchism is a heart disease, which only the Gospel can adequately reach. What is anarchism but hatred of all authority? Hatred of human authority—anarchy; hatred of divine authority—atheism. Anarchy and atheism are but different aspects of the same peril. Christ's Royal Law and Golden Rule in every individual heart and life is the only radical cure; and that cure strikes at the root of every human ill. Oh, the deadly peril of not perceiving it!

Closely connected with this thought stands one of the peculiar religious perils of the city—the tendency of the rich and intelligent to take religious care exclusively of themselves. One of Christ's personal credentials was "to the poor the gospel is preached." But look at the Protestant churches of the great city! In many a small town there are so many that they must live, like feudal barons, by making raids on one another. In almost no single large city are there half enough. In New York, says Mr. Lewis E. Jackson, below Fourteenth Street, with a population mostly poor, there is one weak Evangelical church to about 5,400 souls; but above Fourteenth Street, where most of the rich reside, there is one comparatively strong Evangelical Church to about 3,100. In Chicago, there is, approximately, one church to every 4,500; and nearly all the vigorous churches are on the avenues among the wealthier classes. These representative examples may be natural, but they are not Christian. We might learn much on this subject from the Catholic Church, but far more from Christ, who bids us go out into the alleys and lanes and compel men to come to the gospel-feast. Our peril is that we have so largely lost contact, touch, with the masses. For even the tramps are souls for whom Christ died. We need, imperiously, what Dr. Russell, of Oswego, has so nobly emphasized—more thorough and complete co-operation among the churches. Human nature may not be ripe for organic union of denominations. But human nature is rotting for want of concerted action among the churches. There remains little sectarian hostility. I remember that when I went to Chicago, five years ago, apprehensive in my inexperience, I was at once reassured by the warm welcome of all Evangelical pastors. Sharing as I then did in the popular notions of Chicago's relative wickedness, I one day

asked a Baptist neighbor to explain this heartiness of fellowship. "Why," said he, "young man, don't you see that we have such a task in fighting the devil, that we have neither time nor energy left to fight one another?"

But with all our fraternity, our peril still is that we lack comprehensive plans and sustained efforts to carry the gospel to the entire community. We need to emphasize the essentials that unite us; and, leaving without accent the minor facts that divide us, to supersede the desultory and scattered endeavors of unrelated churches with a scheme of coalition which will enlist every church and every Christian in preaching the gospel to every creature in the city.

A final peril, old as Judas or Sanballat, yet new as our own latest doubt, may coil itself in the suspicion that the God of Sabaoth is incompetent to win his own battle. The solution of all these problems belongs fundamentally to him and not to us. Who surmises that he is driving us on toward catastrophe and downfall? He does not need us, but we certainly need him. "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." Hosts of the wicked may encamp against us; but if the Lord be our leader, they that be for us are more than they that be against us. Human nature may be opposite; but the divine-human nature is on our side. Sin may abound, but grace does much more abound. Elijah under the juniper-tree is our warning. Paul is our example. To the Christians in Rome, the representative of all the ancient perils of the city, he wrote: "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation." To the Christians of vulgar, frivolous and avaricious Corinth, he wrote: "We preach Christ crucified, . . . Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men." To the Ephesians, who sat chilled under the shadow of the temple of the heathen Diana, he wrote of "the exceeding greatness of God's power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which He wrought in Christ, when He raised Him from the dead." If with this triumphant faith we actually preach the gospel to all the citizens, we may yet be enabled, by Christ's grace, to transform our imperiled city into "the city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God."

REMARKS BY REV. SAMUEL L. LOOMIS, OF BROOKLYN,

AUTHOR OF "MODERN CITIES AND THEIR RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS."

FATHERS AND BRETHREN: I am glad that there has been no statement this morning, such as has been very common among Christian people, to the effect that the modern city is, in and of itself, an evil thing, an evil beast, a monstrous, inhuman thing, because it is a city, and because it is growing. For, sir, unless we intend to go with Mr. Ruskin, and allow that every machine, that every steam-engine, that the modern contrivances for reaping and harvesting, are bad and ought to be done away with, and that we should return to the days of the sickle and the stage-coach, we must acknowledge that the city, which has been produced by these things, is part and parcel with modern civilization. It, sir, is not evil because it is a city or because it is growing, but because *as such* a city it is growing.

Every man whose morality or intelligence, especially whose morality, is below the average morality of the community in which he dwells, is, in his measure, a peril to that community. The city is a peril to the modern State, because its average citizen, in morality and education and intelligence, is below the average morality and intelligence of the inhabitants of our land.

The only way to improve the city—this is the matter in a nutshell—the only way to wipe away its threat from the face of the earth, is to use the power that God has put into this world for lifting men up. He has given a power which is sufficient to lift men from a lower estate to a higher one. He has put into our hands a force which will raise the average manhood; and when this force has been sufficiently and wisely brought into use in the great cities, the peril and the menace of those places will gradually disappear. They may become even centres of good, centres of light and power and purity, just as they have become centres of darkness. And yet, in the present state of things, the cities,

though they are part and parcel with our modern civilization, are a threat to that civilization, whose lines have not been too darkly nor gravely drawn this morning.

I say, then, that, in order to improve the condition of things, we must take hold of the mighty power which has been placed in our hands. Our testimony here this morning, by our very presence, is a testimony of our belief in the power of the Gospel to uplift the common manhood of our country. This thing it can do, this thing it will do, if it is faithfully and persistently used. We know it by experience.

But in using the Gospel let us not turn away from the motive which has been given us. We are to preach the Gospel, not because civilization is imperiled, not because property is in danger, not because even our nation is in peril, but because human souls are in peril, and because the Christ bids us carry on His kingdom and save men from a lost condition. If we turn aside from preaching the Gospel for the sake of winning souls, to the idea of preaching the Gospel for sake of saving property and institutions, we put ourselves, in the motive which we urge, below the position that Christ intended us to take. We come down to the level of men in business; we even put ourselves, perhaps, below the anarchists and the socialists, who always advance the idea of human brotherhood, the elevation of the whole mass, in the propositions which they bring forward.

Let us, then, still high advanced, hold the banner of Jesus Christ. Let us not forget that Christ is able to bring peace to the troubled hearts of the great towns. Let McAll, from the midst of the flaring and crowded boulevards of Paris, stand as our witness; and Chalmers, from amidst the teeming tenements of Edinburgh; and Brown and Bernardo, from the reeking slums of East London; and many noble men from the great cities of our land. The Gospel has won, and will win, and is always able to win, the masses of the great cities. Let us not forget this, and let us not lose our courage and faith in its advancing power.

It is enough to make a man sad : we talk about these things a great deal, but when we look to see what we have done and what we are doing, we have abundant reason for the present condition of things in the work of the churches. Take the simple fact which has been brought forward so plainly by the distinguished Secretary of this Alliance, that in New York City, since 1880, where there

has been a growth of 300,000 people, there has been an increase in the number of churches of only four; and it looks as if we were going backward and not forward. Brethren,

"He has sounded out a trumpet which shall never call retreat,
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat.
Be swift, my soul, to answer; be jubilant, my feet:
Our God is marching on." [Applause.]

AFTERNOON SESSION,

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 7.

The Conference reassembled at 2 o'clock, Ex-Justice Strong, late of the United States Supreme Court, presiding.

Rev. Dr. Tyler, of the Church of the Disciples, conducted the devotional services.

Justice Strong : I regard it as very much out of place for me to occupy the time of this assembly, and thus delay their attention to the papers and discussions that are promised to us for the afternoon; and I will take occasion only to say that I am in hearty sympathy with the work that this Alliance is engaged in, and which it places before itself for its future operation.

If there ever was a time in the history of this country, I might say in the history of the world, when the precise work which this Alliance proposes to itself was needful, was indispensable, it is the present hour. Society throughout this country is everywhere in a state of ferment, as well as in a state of formation. The effort of our people to homologate, to produce homogeneity in the various divisions of our people which exist, is a very great work, and it needs the work of the Christian Church and Christian men of all denominations.

But, as I said, I do not propose to detain you by any remarks of mine. I have pleasure in introducing to you now Professor Boyesen, of New York.

IMMIGRATION.

BY PROF. H. H. BOYESEN, OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

I.—IMMIGRATION.

The Constitution of the United States breathes a sanguine spirit. It is founded upon trust in human nature. The spirit that was abroad in the latter half of the eighteenth century was that of Rousseau, and the minds of Jefferson and Franklin were deeply imbued with it. The gospel of the age was the "Contrat Social" with its new trinity of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," which we yet see inscribed upon the walls of the churches of Paris. The same intellectual movement which produced the French Revolution was also a strong co-operating factor in the American Revolution. When the founders of the American Republic stretched out their hands with a hospitable welcome to all the oppressed of the earth, it was in a large measure because Rousseau had taught them to believe in the inherent goodness of man. They took it for granted that the oppressed, no matter who they were and whence they came, were deserving characters, who needed only the liberty which the new republic offered them, to grow to the full stature of civic, moral and intellectual manhood. That the newly liberated state needed a population to till its vast uncultivated domain was, no doubt, also an important consideration, perhaps the most important. But what is interesting to note is that the material need was reinforced by a philosophical enthusiasm for mankind, and a sublime faith in its future. The eighteenth century knew little of the influence of heredity, but believed with Rousseau that each man came pure and perfect from the hand of nature, and that it was his environment which spoiled and corrupted him. Rousseau held civilization—or, as he preferred to call it, society—responsible for all sin, sorrow and misery. It lay very near, therefore, to conclude that, on a new continent, where the

feudal institutions of the Old World had never struck root; where civilization, in the European sense, scarcely existed—humanity could pursue its glorious destiny unimpeded by the obstacles which in the older lands had blocked its way and clogged the path of its progress with blood and fire. Utopian dreams were in the air and pervaded literature; the savage in Chateaubriand is the type of nature's nobleman; and in Bernardin de St. Pierre's "Paul et Virginie," the perfection of bliss is realized on a desert island by two loving hearts, unconscious of the social barriers which separate them. It seemed perfectly rational to expect some startlingly new social development on this vast virgin continent; and it seemed only fair to invite all mankind, irrespective of race, to share in the blessings of this new civilization, founded upon liberty, justice and humanity. It is, therefore, scarcely to be wondered at that the first naturalization law, which Congress passed March 26, 1790, was monumental in its liberality. It offered citizenship to any white male applicant who had spent *two years* in the United States, provided he was of good character and was willing to swear allegiance to the Constitution. But even at that early period, and in spite of the crying need of a population, this liberality produced a reaction. The sentiment gained ground that, at some time or other, the natural advantages of the country might suffice to attract a larger alien population than was desirable, without additional allurements on the part of Congress. The naturalization law of 1790 was accordingly amended by the act of 1795, requiring a residence of five years before citizenship could be acquired, and a declaration of intention two years previous to naturalization. Three years later, this law was superseded by the act of 1798, requiring a residence of fourteen years, which requisition remained in force only four years, being supplanted by the act of April 14, 1802, making the term of residence five years. This law has never since been repealed.

It must be inferred, from the frequency of Congressional acts relating to naturalization during the first years of our national existence, that the question was seen from the beginning to be one of vital importance. Although immigration on an extensive scale did not begin until the forties, when the potato famine in Ireland (1846-47) and the unsuccessful revolutionary uprising in Germany swelled the tide, the possibility of its increase until it might unfavorably affect the industries of the country, and subject its

institutions to an undue strain, must have been vaguely foreseen by many ; but that it should ever assume the proportion of a veritable migration of nations, amounting in a single year to more than three-quarters of a million people, and in sixty-seven years to fourteen millions and a half, was surely never dreamed of by the founders of the Republic ; and if it had been dreamed of, some effective safeguard would have been devised to protect their cherished institutions from the dangers to which they would inevitably be exposed in the hands of a semi-alien race, in conflict with an alien spirit.

The Constitution of the United States was framed by men of Anglo-Saxon origin for their own government ; and it presupposes the long political evolution to which that race has been subjected in the mother-land during eight or nine centuries. It presupposes the Anglo-Saxon virtues of moderation, self-restraint and sense of fair play. It is only a high civilization which exhibits these civic virtues ; and to impose free institutions upon a people which does not possess them, is to endanger the social order and bring the free institutions into unmerited reproach. There are no institutions which are so inherently excellent that they fit all nations; just as there is no diet so nourishing that it will agree with all stomachs in all zones and climes. A republic can only be carried on by republicans (I do not mean, of course, in the party sense), and if it is carried on by other than republicans, it will lose its original spirit and degenerate into a disguised despotism, retaining nothing of the republic except the name. And a republican, gentlemen, is not made in a day, nor in a year—nor in fifty years. It takes generations of intelligent, self-restrained and self-respecting ancestors to make a man fit to govern himself—fit to be entrusted with the guidance of a state, whose existence and progress depend upon his vote, and, above all, upon the sentiments that lie behind his vote. We see in France, to-day, what an unstable and insecure thing a republic is without republicans, or, perhaps I should rather say, without the republican temperament. And the Gallic temperament, whatever it may become in the future, is not to-day the republican temperament. The republic is there a mere accident, a temporary truce of hostile parties, none of which has power enough to assume the government. The republic is in a state of perpetual anxiety regarding its existence, and has to strain every nerve to preserve order, to keep the hungry from flying at the throats of the prosper-

ous. That the United States have hitherto been exempt from anxiety on this score, is chiefly due to the fact that prosperity has until recently been within the reach of the many, and there has accordingly existed no very strong inducements to plunder the few. In no less degree, perhaps, has it been due to the fact that the country has been governed, in the main, by its peaceful and conservative citizens, both of American and of foreign descent; although the alien element has, in national affairs at least, played a very subordinate part. But we have no guarantee that this state of things will continue to last. A large proportion of the foreigners who come to us now are hungry malcontents, who arrive with the avowed purpose to overthrow our institutions. A considerable number of them are men who, on account of moral or intellectual defects, do not fit into any orderly society, and who in consequence are imbittered against all order; men whom Europe is fortunate in getting rid of, and America correspondingly unfortunate in receiving; men who are bent upon avenging here what they suffered there. There are at present unmistakable indications that unless some drastic remedy is applied to check the influence of this class of foreigners, the relation of political and economic forces which has hitherto prevailed will be reversed, and the future will be fraught with perils which it is the part of prudence to foresee, and which it is too late to avert when they are already upon us. It behoves us, therefore, to apply the remedy before the evil is beyond control—before the elements of discontent and disorder shall have transplanted to the New World the very conditions to escape which they fled from the Old.

What I propose to show in the present address is that, unless some such restrictive measure is before long passed by Congress, a crisis is at hand, in a not very remote future, which will seriously affect our national destiny. The immigrant of to-day is not the same as the immigrant of ten and twenty years ago. He is, as statistics prove, largely drawn from a lower stratum of European society. Before the days of steam navigation, a considerable degree of courage and enterprise was required to induce a man to break up from his old home and associations, and seek an uncertain future in an unknown land, which the imagination pictured as little better than a wilderness. The mere sea voyage, in a small sailing vessel, with its attendant dangers, sufficed to keep the faint-hearted from contemplating so risky an undertaking. Those who

did migrate were, therefore, likely to be the strongest and most energetic—the very ones most fitted to grapple with the hardships of pioneer life on the border-line of civilization. As a matter of fact, the immigrants whom we received previous to 1840, when the first regular steamboat connection between New York and Liverpool was established, were of a very acceptable class, and increased our prosperity without perceptibly deteriorating our character. It was not until the year 1820 that a record was kept of arrivals; but it is estimated that the entire immigration from 1796 to 1820 did not exceed 250,000, of whom the greater portion came from Great Britain and Ireland. A great many came under indenture, and were obliged to labor from three to ten years to pay the cost of their passage, which had been advanced by agents, until Congress, in 1819, passed a law which largely remedied the evils of this system. Very ample statistics are at hand, showing both the character and the numbers and ages of the immigrants during the last sixty-seven years ; but I will not weary you with a repetition of what is so easily accessible. A mere general summary will suffice for my purpose.

The number of foreign-born in the United States, according to the census of 1880, was 6,679,943, and their present number is not far from nine millions. There are, accordingly, about three times as many foreigners now in the country as there were Americans in the thirteen colonies at the time of the Declaration of Independence. Nay, more immigrants have arrived during the last seven years than the colonies contained. If we count the children of aliens, we have at the present time an aggregate of more than fifteen millions, or about twenty-six per cent. of the total population. Rev. Dr. Strong, in his admirable book, "Our Country," estimates that, if immigration is left unrestricted, our foreign-born population in 1900 will be over nineteen millions, and if the proportion of foreign-born to native-born children of foreign parents continues the same, we shall then have a total alien or semi-alien population of forty-three millions. The undoubted fact, that the more prolific foreigner is continually gaining numerically upon the native, and year by year becoming a greater power politically and economically, contains an ominous augury for the future of the Republic. But still more precarious becomes the outlook when we consider a circumstance not sufficiently emphasized by writers on this subject, viz.: the recent deterioration in the quality of the immigra-

tion. Any man, unless he be a pauper, can now obtain the paltry sum necessary for buying a steerage passage to New York, and if he cannot, the chances are that he is so undesirable a character that it is worth while for the community to raise the sum to get rid of him. That this is actually done on a large scale in Ireland, England and Switzerland we all know, and no remonstrance from our Government has sufficed to stop the practice. There are yet so-called benefit societies in Great Britain, whose object it is to reform Ireland by exporting the Irish to the United States; and it is not very long since Lord Salisbury, in a public speech, declared that the solution of the Irish problem was assisted emigration. In other words, the only solution of the problem was to transfer it to the United States.

The Canadians, who have had their hospitality abused by such "assisted guests," have recently sent a vigorous protest against the continuance of this policy, and have, at the same time, imitated it, by "assisting" a large number of the imported paupers across the boundary line to the United States. There is no possibility of preventing this, as long as we permit the belief to go uncontradicted that we are the natural cess-pool for the reception of the human offal and rubbish of the entire world. It is but a few months since the Danish Government pardoned a notorious and dangerous forger on condition that he should go to the United States; and to the United States he went. Whether our Minister in Copenhagen reported the case to Secretary Bayard, I do not know, but the Scandinavian papers were full of it. Nevertheless, as far as the public knows, nothing was ever done about it. The Danish Government will be encouraged to repeat the successful experiment of exporting its criminals instead of entertaining them at public expense. We have, indeed, a species of investigation at Castle Garden, but it is not carried on thoroughly, nor even in good faith. Occasionally a pauper is returned to Ireland or England, but a hundred are admitted for every one that goes back. As long as public opinion is not aroused on the subject, the officials can scarcely be blamed for interpreting the law in the laxest spirit. And public opinion is fatally sanguine, prone to the belief that whatever we do—whatever fatal blunders we commit—we shall come out all right in the end. It is supposed that God is personally responsible for the future of the United States, and that he cannot afford to let our experiment of self-government fail.

But surely the same causes produce the same effects in this country as they do elsewhere? You cannot gather figs from thorns, or grapes from thistles, in a republic any more than you can in a monarchy. We know now that society is governed by laws as surely ascertainable as those of electricity and gravitation. It would, to my mind, argue no right trust in God to violate the laws, in the operation of which His power is made manifest, in the hope that He would interpose to save us from the consequences. What strikes me with amazement, whenever I undertake to discuss this question with my American friends, is their utter indifference or supine optimism.

"Don't you worry, old fellow," said a very intelligent professional man to me recently, when I told him of my observations during a visit to Castle Garden. "What does it matter whether a hundred thousand more or less arrive? Even if a million arrived annually, or two millions, I guess we could take care of them. Why, this country is capable of supporting a population of 200 millions, without being half so densely populated as Belgium is to-day. Only let them come; the more, the merrier!"

I believe this state of mind is fairly typical. It is the sublime but dangerous optimism of a race which has never been confronted with serious problems. Our national domain has seemed practically boundless, and we have never troubled ourselves greatly about the class of people who undertook to occupy it, as long as they added to our prosperity. But, gentlemen, even prosperity may be bought at too high a price. If material increase involves a menace to our institutions and a deterioration in character, it is, to my mind, too dearly bought. And can there be any question that such is actually the case? If, as is easily capable of demonstration, our political life sinks, year by year, to a lower level; if the men we send to our national and state legislatures exhibit a lower average of intelligence and morality than twenty or fifty years ago — does it not show that the constituencies which are responsible for their election are degenerating, and are gradually becoming unfit for self-government? Does it not show that the institutions no longer fit the people, or the people the institutions? If the lobby in every State capital, as in our national capital, grows every year more powerful in its influence upon legislation, and bribery and jobbery of all sorts flourish, is it not an evidence of disease in our body politic, which, if not healed, sooner or later must

assume a critical phase, and precipitate disaster? I am far from holding immigration responsible for all these evils, but that it is a potent, perhaps the most potent, co-operating cause, is, I think, beyond dispute.

Let us take one of our great political constituencies and analyze the elements of which it is made up. I take, naturally, one which has been largely affected by immigration, in order to show the character of the alien vote. In the city of New York, which has developed political trickery and corruption to the highest perfection, the foreign element, including the children of foreign-born parents, is 80 per cent. of the total population. Out of every five persons you meet in the streets of New York, four are likely to be of foreign birth or the children of foreign parents. The city had in 1880, 1,206,299 inhabitants, of whom 200,000 were born in Ireland ; and if the ratio holds good which the last census seems to have established, that for every 100 foreign-born inhabitants we have 115 born of foreign parents, the number of Irish in New York City was, in 1880, 430,000, and must now be considerably over half a million. The Irish, therefore, roughly speaking, constitute fully one-third, or about 33 per cent., of the population of the city.

Of natives of Germany there were in New York City in 1880 (including Austrians) 168,225 ; and counting Swiss and Dutch, about 175,000, and, adding to these 207,000 of German parentage, we get the total number of 382,000 Germans. All estimates regarding the growth of the city since 1880 must be more or less conjectural ; but statistics of immigration show that during these years the Germans have gained upon the Irish, and have largely outnumbered them. Of the enormous immigration of 1882, which reached nearly 800,000, 250,000 (or nearly one-third) were Germans, while the number of Irish was only 73,000, and has never in recent years exceeded 84,000. That a larger proportion of the latter have, however, in accordance with their well-known urban tendencies, remained in the city, is quite certain, but yet not enough to make up for the great numerical preponderance of the Teutons. That the city to-day has a German population of 400,000, including children of German parents, is, I think, a very moderate estimate.

Among the other nationalities which contribute to our Babylonic confusion, no one was in 1880 sufficiently numerous to be entitled

to special consideration ; 30,000 Englishmen, 10,000 Frenchmen, 9,000 Scotchmen, 9,000 Bohemians, 7,000 British Americans and 7,000 Scandinavians, 12,000 Italians, 9,000 Russians, 5,000 Hungarians, 10,000 Poles, represent in the aggregate a vast deal of alienism, but are apparently too feeble to assert the special kind of alienism that is in them. It is, however, a noteworthy fact that since 1880 the immigration from the most undesirable of these nationalities has shown an alarming increase. The Italians have more than trebled their number, and the Bohemians, Poles and Hungarians have powerfully reinforced and are daily reinforcing our constantly growing army of discontent and disorder. What makes the situation still more unpromising is the fact to which I have already alluded—that in these, as in other nationalities, it is a lower stratum of the population that is represented than in former years. In Italy, for instance, we received formerly the majority of our immigrants from Parma and the northern provinces—Piedmont, Tuscany, Lombardy—where the people are, as a rule, self-respecting and industrious ; but during recent years Naples and the province of Sicily have taken the lead, having poured down upon us a torrent of pea-nut venders and organ grinders, who, I dare say, far outstrip the demand. I have, during the past year, again and again seen the Battery Park black with these creatures (in fact, preternaturally black), and the odors which surrounded them turned the milk of human kindness within me, and made me marvel at the heedless hospitality of the American nation, which was willing to mingle this coarse and brutal strain in their own fresh and vigorous blood. If the ordinary outward tests of intelligence and morality amount to anything, then it was certain that these people stood very low in the scale of development, and it would take three or four generations to educate them up to the level of American citizenship. And why, I asked myself, does the country, which has already population enough of its own, imperil its future by importing this undiluted mass of ignorance and religious bigotry and superstition? Do we still hold to that dangerous gospel of our infancy, that we are the refuge and the natural protector of all the oppressed of the earth ?

If we persevere in this fatal delusion we shall soon have no refuge to offer; or we shall ourselves have to seek a refuge, when our unbidden guest shall have succeeded in making it too uncomfortable for us at home.

Naturalists tell us that in the animal and vegetable kingdoms the European breeds, on account of the severer struggle they have to sustain for existence, are apt to be hardier than our own; and it is not unlikely that in human struggle for existence a similar result might become manifest. The English sparrow has excited our national prejudice by its fecundity, its ruthless pugnacity, and its generally inconsiderate behavior. The question of its extermination is constantly being raised; but there is no one as yet who has suggested how this is to be done. In the meanwhile the sparrow continues to have the upper hand, and by its low style of living ousts our native birds, who cannot put up with such poor fare and accommodations. But, I hear political economists urge, the immigrant increases the country's power of production and consumption; he brings money into this country, he augments the nation's wealth. It has been calculated by the German economist, Friedrich Kapp, that each immigrant averages in value $1,125 to the country which receives him. At all events, he has cost that amount to the society which has reared him, and loses the benefit of his productive labor. Another authority fixes the amount at $800. According to these calculations, we gain annually, through immigration, the equivalent of a capital amounting to four or five hundred million dollars. But there is, to my mind, a serious error in computations of this sort. It is not, by any means, sure that a man is worth the money which it took to raise him. Uncharitable as the remark may seem, the man may not, on purely economic grounds, have been worth raising. A man is valuable only where he is needed—where his labor and the sentiments which he embodies increase the efficiency of the society to which he attaches himself. A pauper or a criminal is a drain upon the resources of the land; the anarchist, although he consumes food and manufactures, is not, therefore, a valuable member of society. By his sentiments, if not by his acts, he disorganizes the State and decreases its efficiency. And the ultimate loss which the United States may sustain by economic convulsions and the lowering of the grade of its civilization, through the importation of unassimilable foreign hordes, is beyond the power of any man to compute.

Recent statistics seem to prove that our immigration is being drawn from lower and lower strata of European society. The cheapened passenger rates of the transatlantic steamboat lines have enabled people to emigrate whose poverty formerly compelled

them to remain at home. The bulk of Italian immigration, which formerly came from the north, comes now from the south. It is not only in regard to Italy that this observation holds good; but also in Ireland and Prussia. In Ireland there has been a relative increase of immigration from the poorer western provinces of Connaught and Munster, while formerly it was the comparatively richer counties of Ulster and Leinster which sent the majority of our aldermen and municipal rulers. In Prussia a similar relative increase has taken place in the poorer eastern provinces of Pomerania and Posen. I do not, however, attach very great importance to this, as regards Pomerania, whence we have in the past received many thrifty and excellent citizens.

But to return to the city of New York: We have seen of what nationalities its population is made up. We have seen also (to our cost!) how hopeless it is for the little American remnant to assert its right to govern this vast metropolis in accordance with American ideas and in an American spirit. But what right have we to wonder at this result, as long as we take no measures to stem the tide that is threatening to overwhelm us? It is usually the poorest and the most worthless of the immigrants, and those who have come with no definite object except to get away from home: it is these who are apt to remain where they first land. We accordingly get in New York more than our fair share of the shiftless and vicious. We grapple heroically with the problem which their existence presents to us. Numerous charitable institutions struggle to relieve the most urgent wants, and private benevolence steps in where the institutions fail to reach. The Christian churches, both Catholic and Protestant, are doing a noble work in endeavoring to awake the dormant souls of these miserable aliens, who herd together in the filthiest and most malodorous quarters of the huge city. But it is often like pouring water into a sieve. If I were to tell you my own experience I might, perhaps, have the appearance of boasting. I can only say that it has been inexpressibly disheartening, though in that respect scarcely exceptional. My relation, however, to the immigrants of the Scandinavian nationalities has been exceptional. I doubt if there is another man in a private position in New York who has come into closer contact with the miseries which unrestricted immigration entails, and who has been the repository of more tales of alien woe than I.

It is as often the children of immigrants as the immigrants

themselves who come to grief, because of their imperfect adaptation to the conditions of American life. My experience fully confirms that of Doctor Strong in this respect, and, reluctant as I am to say it, I hold the American common school largely responsible for the disasters which overtake many of those who have imbibed its teachings. Our public schools, admirable though they are in many respects, and Americanizing in their tendency, are in my opinion imbued with a false spirit. They unduly stimulate a child's ambition, and foster to an unhealthy degree its sense of independence. "Every one of you, boys, has as good a chance of becoming President of the United States, some day, as Grant or Lincoln had when he was of your age," I once heard a public-school teacher in Ohio say to his class. I marveled at the lack of judgment the man displayed. But I could not find a person in that section of the country who agreed with me. They all told me that that was the American spirit. It may have been, at a certain immature period; but it cannot remain so long. I believe a teacher should stimulate a child's sense of responsibility, his pleasure in doing even the humblest labor conscientiously, his pride in sound and honest workmanship; his sense of duty towards God and man, not God's and man's duty towards him. His rights he is very sure to learn, without the aid of a teacher. That liberty involves a redoubled responsibility, is never properly impressed upon the pupils; and those of them who have not inherited self-restraint and sober and moral impulses from their ancestors, are apt to become intoxicated with the idea of the unbounded liberty they expect to enjoy, and to rebel against all law and authority. As far as my observation goes, I should say that the alien child, or the child of alien parents, imbibes a dangerous spirit in our public schools, though it is not the schools alone that are to be blamed for the sad exhibit which the children of aliens make in the statistics of pauperism and crime. Take only this single item, quoted by Doctor Strong, and ponder its awful significance: "Of 680 discharged convicts who applied to the Prison Association of New York for aid during the year ending June 30, 1882, 442 were born in the United States, against 238 foreign born; but of this entire number only 144 reported native parentage, against 536 who reported foreign parentage."

If any one should take the trouble to make the acquaintance of the hoodlums and young roughs, who infest all our large cities, he would

find the great majority of them to be children of foreign parents. I have heard worthy German and Scandinavian fathers, honest and hard-working men, complain bitterly that they found it impossible to govern their children in this country, or maintain any discipline whatever in their homes. Their sons took to the street, no matter what they did or said to them; and if they were punished, they left their homes altogether. There is a spirit of irresponsible independence in the air, and it is unduly stimulated by boyish associates, by the text-books used in the schools, and by the political life, which also fosters an excessive sense of dignity, irrespective of intellectual and moral worth.

The alarming increase of this class of half foreign youthful roughs with criminal tendencies, who in our large cities constitute the patronage of the saloons and all dens of vice, and the voting strength of the different halls to which they are attached, has always appeared to me one of the most dangerous results of immigration. To imagine that this class of people is an element of strength to the State and the country is certainly a most baneful delusion. A man is valuable to the State only in so far as he fulfills a useful function and has a definite place in the social organism. People of nomadic habits, without permanent employment, weaken the social structure, and by their mere existence indicate the presence of some grave disorder. Just as a body cannot with safety accept nourishment any faster than it is capable of assimilating it, so a State cannot accept an excessive influx of people without serious injury. The process of national assimilation is necessarily gradual; and an unassimilated mass in a State as in a body will give rise to more or less violent disturbance, which must weaken the cohesive strength, and retard rather than hasten the organic growth of society.

We have, in my opinion, arrived at this point, when a continuation of our former policy of indiscriminate absorption would be dangerous, if not fatal. It is a question, not of sentiment, but of self-preservation. It is the problem of problems with which every individual, as well as every society, is confronted, in one shape or another, viz., What degree of altruism is compatible with self-preservation? If we continue to bear the effects of foreign abuses and misgovernment; if we extend our responsibilities beyond the boundaries which reason and self-interest prescribe—we shall sooner or later imperil our national existence. If others sow the wind, is

it fair that we shall reap the whirlwind? There is a point, beyond which optimism and even sympathy cease to be virtues. There is already now an unnatural ferment in our society, resulting from race-antagonism, class-antagonism, and lack of organic cohesion. We have permitted our hospitality to be abused and we are now beginning to reap the consequences. What does the appearance among us of such phenomena as anarchism and socialism mean, if not this? What do the perpetual convulsions in economic centres —the strikes, boycotts and riots—mean, if not this? They are a fiery writing upon the wall, which he who runs may read. They mean that we have been too hospitable for our own good; they mean that we have absorbed in excessive quantities an indiscriminate diet—some of it of an extremely indigestible kind—which we are unable to assimilate, and which therefore produces disease and disorder. A nation can perish, as an individual can—it can pass through crises so serious that, if it survives, it is no longer the same that it was. Its health, its strength, its faith, may be broken. The new order which sooner or later follows the chaotic upheavals is sure to be a different, though not necessarily a better, social condition. If you will have patience with me, I should like to give you some of my own observations, tending to show that we shall soon be on the eve of a social crisis, unless we take heroic measures to avert it.

In 1869 I traveled through all the Western States east of the Mississippi—and took particular pains to study the condition of the German and Scandinavian immigrants. Everywhere contentment and hopefulness were the rule. Nearly all the people I talked with told me that this was a good country, and that they had bettered their condition by leaving the countries of their birth. They found many things to criticise, in an intelligent, good-natured way; but they were loyal to the United States and their institutions, and anxious that their children should become good American citizens. Two years ago, I again visited the great West, though my opportunities for observation were less extensive than on the former occasion. But they were at all events sufficient to prove to me that a change had come over the spirit of immigrants. The buoyant hopefulness and contentment which had impressed me so, eighteen years ago, were scarcely anywhere to be found. The old settlers, who had grown rich, were fairly well satisfied yet, but they prophesied disaster, and were far less confident that this country

had solved the problem of securing a maximum of happiness with a minimum of restraint. The sanguine trust in the future of the Republic and the excellence of its institutions were to a great extent destroyed. The new-comers, who had expected to find prosperity here, had found the struggle for existence as hard as in the old countries, if not harder.

"America is all humbug!" said an old Norwegian farmer to me. "The poor man has no better chance here than he has in the old country. The Government is for the benefit of the rich man. Everything is for sale here. You can become a governor, a congressman, a senator—anything you like—if you have money enough to buy a nomination. What is the good of calling that sort of thing a democracy, and pretending that it is for the good of the poor man? I tell you, everything here is humbug."

In this strain spoke the majority of those with whom I conversed. A feeling of disappointment, and a more or less pronounced hostility to the country which they held responsible for their misfortunes, were very prevalent. To men in this frame of mind the vaporings of socialists and anarchists do not seem so preposterous as they do to you and me, who are fairly content with our lot, and suffer no exceptional hardships. In the case of the Germans, this bitter feeling toward the natives is chiefly due to the Prohibition movement, which they regard as being directly aimed at them. It is, in their opinion, an unwarrantable interference with their personal liberty, dictated by a Puritanical fanaticism, which they hate and despise. But there is also another reason for their unfriendly sentiments, which lies considerably deeper. This country was until recently a fair realization of the aspirations of the German revolutionists of 1848. It was a democratic *bourgeoisie*—industrialism dominant and triumphant. It raised the third estate, the industrial class, the middle class (in Old World parlance), to be the directing power in the State. It was the business man, and business interests, which decided national elections and foreign policies. But during the last ten years a new class—the fourth estate—the manual laborer, who had hitherto framed no political demands—has raised its head, and threatened to remodel the State in its interest. These attempts, which we all know create discontent among the class against whose power they are aimed, and the natural resistance and self-protection of the latter, create bitterness and disaffection among the fourth estate, who find their plans

balked and frustrated. The great historical question at the present time is, accordingly, whether the fourth estate is or is not to take the place of the third, as the governing and directing power Much as I should regret such a revolution, it is difficult to see how, with unrestricted immigration and universal suffrage, it is to be averted. We have been accustomed to say that no man need starve in the United States, if he is able and willing to work. This was true ten years ago, but it is true no longer. I have seen in New York City many families miserably destitute, through no fault of their own, and unable to obtain work of any kind. Skilled mechanics, who formerly supported themselves and their families comfortably, have through boycotts and strikes and the exactions of the Knights of Labor lost their employment, and have been reduced to starvation. I could fill a book with the stories such men have told me. They were mostly Germans and Scandinavians, men of frugal habits and accustomed to industry. That their lot is deplorable, there is no denying. And as long as immigration remains unrestricted, as long as five men enter for every one that is needed, confusion must occur, and suffering must be the result.

The Knights are determined to enforce an artificial equality in the rewards of labor, irrespective of merit. Industry and skill are to command no higher wages than idleness and incompetence; nay, the latter are to be allowed to fatten on the proceeds of the former. There is no stimulus to ambition, where a man is not master of his own actions, and sure of the profits of his own labor. Perpetual interruption, agitation and outside interference are apt to make a workman careless and improvident. If, on the other hand, the immigrant mechanic refuses to join the Knights, he has the choice between starving and "scabbing," and in the latter case having his life daily imperiled by the assaults and persecutions of the Knights. Everyone will admit that the alternative is not an agreeable one; nor need anyone wonder that men so perpetually harassed lend a ready ear to teachings of the socialist, who, assures him that the whole present order of society is wrong; that he has been defrauded by the rich of his proper share of the comforts and pleasures of life, and that his only remedy is to join the forces of the coming revolution. The parson, says the socialist, promises you heavenly rewards if you only will keep quiet here, and leave your plunderers in secure possession of their boodle. That is a very cunning arrangement; and it has worked admirably

for many centuries. But now the people are getting too intelligent to be hoodwinked any longer. Religion is all a fraud, invented by the ruling classes to keep down the poor. The king and the priest have always been allies. Now let us turn the tables on them. Tell them we are willing to renounce all the heavenly uncertainties, in return for the earthly joys of which they have hitherto had exclusive possession. We will let the hereafter take care of itself; for there is no hereafter. But there is an earth, and it is ours, if we choose to take it.

This is the text of all socialistic sermons. Go down into the Bowery, in New York, any Sunday evening, and you will hear this gospel preached in scores of stuffy, ill-smelling club-rooms, with varying degrees of eloquence and vehemence, by frowsy-looking Germans and Bohemians and Hungarians, while hundreds of foreign workmen frantically applaud their daring blasphemies. I have listened to many of these discourses; and I have studied the temper of the men among whom this diabolical gospel of hate makes its converts. It may seem insignificant to you, that some thousand foreigners meet in all our large cities in their assembly rooms, and discuss, over their beer, the overthrow of the existing social order, nor would it perhaps seem very significant to me, if the social conditions were not such as to make the minds of the lower classes peculiarly receptive to this sort of teaching. Read the excellent study of "Modern Cities," by Rev. Samuel Lane Loomis, and you will find a startling corroboration of my words. There is at present a universal hunger among those who have been debarred from the enjoyment of life's pleasures; and a malevolent envy of those who have beaten them in the struggle for existence—snatched the prizes away from their eager hands. There is a vast field here for the Christian missionary; for our social order rests upon Christianity as its basis, and can only be maintained by faith in revealed religion. If Christianity cease to be a power in the land, if the fear and the love of God cease to be restraining influences in the minds of men, our present social order is surely doomed. What would follow, it is difficult to predict. Some kind of socialism probably, which through untold suffering and frequent convulsions would lead to some new rearrangement of social and economic forces. The wild and predatory instincts of men, which are now held in check, would then have sway for a season, until the soberer second thought would reassert itself; and the impossibility of fashioning a

society better than the men who constitute it would convince even the most rabid, that the kind of liberty which they desired must be its own destruction. Or, to quote Goethe:

> "For pure perfection's heights will unrestrained
> Wild spirits vainly strive with sure disaster.
> By well-directed strength is greatness gained
> In limitation proves himself the master,
> And but through law can freedom be attained."

There is another danger to which I would, in this connection, call your attention. We hear much in this country about the protection of American labor. We pay an enormous sum, annually (far beyond the needs of the Government) for the ostensible purpose of protecting American labor. But how does this system operate? As long as Castle Garden remains open, and an unceasing stream of immigrants eager and willing to work for anything they can get (as long as they can keep soul and body together) pour in through this unbarred flood-gate, and underbid the native laborer in all markets, it is the employer who is protected, and not the laborer. If the freight-handlers or cigarmakers or bricklayers strike (whether for adequate cause or not), there is usually no difficulty in filling their places with newly arrived recruits from Castle Garden. No wages are so small now that there is no one who will accept them. Hungarians who sleep on mattresses on the floor, and eight and ten in one room, who pick their dinners out of the ash barrels, and change their linen once a month, can manage to live on wages which to self-respecting American laborers would scarcely suffice to starve on. And what is more, the Hungarians will manage to save something. Competition in business often compels a manufacturer to engage the cheapest labor he can procure, because his rivals would otherwise be enabled to undersell and ruin him. He is sometimes obliged to discharge self-respecting workmen whom he would rather keep, and employ foreigners whose grade of living is lower, because his competitors are already benefiting by the cheaper labor. Wages thus show a tendency to reach the level where they represent bare existence on the lowest possible plane, and the laborers themselves, in their struggle to procure employment, engage in a mutual competition to reduce the cost of living to the lowest possible figure. The Labor Statistics of the Massachusetts Bureau for 1884 show that the average earnings of the heads of

families working in factories were $196 less than the actual cost of maintaining such families; the difference, therefore, had to be made up by child labor. Now if economic forces show this tendency, is it not evidence that something is radically wrong? For surely no one can be blind enough to suppose that it is for the good of society, to reduce a large class of its members to a plane of living which must be degrading, and destructive of every higher instinct. The Rev. Father Huntington has, in his article on "Tenement House Morality," forcibly demonstrated the effect of miserable surroundings upon the morals of laboring men and women. "If you have to live like a pig, you soon get to behave like one, too," said a Swedish immigrant woman to me last winter, when I asked her how she could afford to live in three rooms while her husband was out of work.

And it is a fact that the moral degradation wrought by filth and perpetual discomfort would suffice in itself to unfit a man for American citizenship. People thus situated cannot foster the spirit of self-restraint, respect for the law, and patriotism, which is, and must be, the head corner-stone of a republic. If immigration, by introducing an undue competition with civilizations lower than ours, depresses the moral and intellectual level of American citizenship, it is a direct menace to our institutions.

There are yet a few points which I wish to touch upon before concluding. First, it has been urged that restriction of immigration would have an unfavorable effect upon business, by excluding skilled labor, for which we now, to a large extent, depend upon Europe. A native American who has gone through the public schools rarely takes up a trade, except as a temporary expedient. He hopes by his cleverness soon to be beyond the necessity of working with his hands. If he learns the printer's trade, it is with the idea of some day becoming an editor. If he becomes a carpenter or a mason, it is with a view to acquiring wealth as a builder or contractor for public works. If he is a conductor or an engineer, he expects to become a railroad president. Now, within certain limits, this is no doubt a laudable spirit, and as long as immigration furnishes a steady supply of men ready and willing to work with their hands, it is quite natural that the native mechanic, who has an advantage in knowing the resources of the country and the conditions of trade, should rise upon the shoulders of the rest. But, for every one who succeeds, how many hundreds are there

who fail, because of this unbridled ambition! Is it not due to this spirit of impatience at, and contempt for, slow and honest toil that so many speculators, gamblers, sporting men, and other anomalous characters fill our cities and endeavor to make a living out of the corruption of politics? I feel confident that such is the case. It is, again, the spirit of the public school which bears a large share of the responsibility. And I believe that, when industrial training shall have been introduced instead of the present miscellany of accomplishments; when children shall acquire in the school a definite, useful, practical knowledge, fitting them, not for Presidents of the United States, but for the work and the responsibilities of their lives in humble or exalted stations, in accordance with their powers—then we shall no longer have to depend upon Europe for our skilled labor.

It will possibly be inferred by some who have done me the honor to listen to this address, that I entertain a low opinion of foreigners. If I have conveyed any such impression, let me hasten to correct it. I do not believe that there is any peculiar virtue in American birth, or that Americans are, *per se*, superior to all other nations; but I do believe that they are better fitted than all others to govern their own country. They made the country what it is, and ought to have the first voice in determining what it is to be. In this alone consists their superiority. It would be folly to object to the immigrated races, as races. It is as individuals that they are objectionable, if objectionable at all. I know many naturalized citizens of German, Scandinavian and English birth whose noble character and intelligent interest in public affairs would make them an acquisition to any country. In fact, the great majority of the immigrants of these races are, and have always been, useful and honorable men. The circumstance that we receive from Germany a considerable number of anarchists and socialists, ought not to prejudice us against a nationality which has contributed such excellent elements to our population. It is a question, perhaps, which I shall not undertake to answer, whether, at the present time, aliens, even of an unobjectionable character, are as great a gain to this country as they were twenty or thirty years ago. Quite apart from any question of character, they complicate, by their mere alienism, the problems of self-government, and by their mere presence give rise to economic convulsions and industrial disturbances, which must react unfavorably upon all classes

and conditions of citizens. It is not necessarily because they are bad that we would largely limit their number, but because the nation needs time to assimilate the foreign elements which it already has, before it can with safety receive more; for when assimilation ceases, the coherence, nay, the very existence, of the nation is in peril. I hope, therefore, that you will not put me down as a rabid Know-nothing, whose bigotry has unsettled his judgment. I need scarcely say that I am myself a foreigner—a Norseman ; or, if you like, I am an older American than any of you, for Leif Erikson, a countryman of mine, took out my naturalization papers, in Massachusetts, nearly 500 years before Columbus set foot on this continent. I spring from the parent stock, from which came Duke Rollo and William the Conqueror ; and it is no effort for a man of my blood to enter into the American spirit of constitutional liberty —freedom limited by self-imposed law—for that spirit first arose among the mountains of Norway, and spread from there to England and to America.

Now, gentlemen, I believe I have stated the problem as clearly as I am capable of doing. If you ask me what is to be the remedy, I shall have to admit that it presents unusual difficulties, some of which appear almost insuperable. We have taken a step (and I think a proper one) in excluding the Chinese; but I fear that legislation aiming at the exclusion of any definite nationality of the Caucasian race would not be upheld by public opinion. I think it is highly desirable, for many reasons, to exclude the Slavonic race ; but I have no expectation that it will ever be done. Equally impracticable would it be to legislate against certain classes among different races. There is no sign by which an anarchist or a socialist is known, and there is no possible way of distinguishing him from his fellow-travelers on his arrival at Castle Garden. All tests of character also are worthless, because there are a hundred ways of evading them. A head-tax of $20 or $30, levied by the United States, would have the effect of excluding the great majority of the undesirable ones, but it would also exclude a great many who might be regarded as desirable. Moreover, it would be amenable to the objection that it is undemocratic, because it would favor the comparatively well-to-do at the expense of the poor. In fact, there is no imaginable method of separating the sheep from the goats, nor of framing a law which would not be felt by many to be a hardship and an injustice. The mere lengthening of the

term of residence required for naturalization from five to ten years would, I think, scarcely have any perceptible effect in lessening the number of arrivals; for it is not the prospect of political liberty which allures the immigrant to our shores nowadays, but it is the prospect of gaining an ampler and an easier livelihood. Nevertheless, the lengthening of the term would, on other grounds, be highly desirable, and I hope it will be done.

The plan of restriction which I proposed some years ago is by no means an ideal measure; but it will, if properly enforced, have the effect of shutting out the very worst classes; and it has the additional advantage of being perfectly feasible. My idea would be that no immigrant should be permitted to land, unless he can exhibit a certificate signed by the American consul residing nearest to his home, testifying to his good character and showing that he complies with the conditions, whatever they may be, which Congress may see fit to impose. In all European countries such information is easily accessible; the parish, communal and police authorities usually being able to furnish all information desired, concerning the individals within their jurisdiction. If the task of collecting these data were imposed upon the consuls, it would, of course, greatly increase the labor and responsibility of these officials; and would necessitate a considerable increase in their number. But as a consulate in all but the principal commercial cities is at present a sinecure, this objection need scarcely be regarded as a serious one. A weightier objection would be the opportunity for bribery and corruption which such a law would offer to officials of questionable morality. But such opportunities exist throughout the public service, and must exist as long as human nature is what it is. If the proper care is exercised in the selection of consular officers, and if it were clearly understood that the policy of the administration favored restriction rather than indiscriminate hospitality, the object of the law would, no doubt, be accomplished in lessening the total number of immigrants and excluding the most undesirable classes.

In conclusion, permit me to reply to a criticism which no doubt will be made by many, and which lies near at hand. Here is a man, you will say, who, having himself accepted the hospitality of the American nation, proposes to slam the door in the face of all those who wish to follow his example. Well, if it were a mere personal question, with no wider bearings, I presume I should be liable to such a charge. I may say, however, that my father made

the choice before me, having visited the United States as a young man, and brought me up in sympathy with American institutions, which he sincerely admired. I therefore found myself more at home here, when I arrived, than in the country of my birth. During the nineteen years of my residence here, I have exerted all my influence, in season and out of season, to make my countrymen good American citizens ; to induce them to drop all quarrels and prejudices and religious animosities imported from the Old World, and to join heartily in labor for the industrial and intellectual development of this great republic. The Scandinavian immigrants have always been found on the side of law and order, and the counsel of the Chicago anarchists paid them a great and well merited compliment when he declared that he would not tolerate a single one of them on the jury. It is not, however, as a Norseman that I have spoken to you ; but as an American citizen who is deeply attached to the country and its institutions, and who would avert, if he could, a danger which he believes to be threatening them. If I have in any wise exaggerated this danger, which I scarcely think I have, it is due to my zeal for the welfare of the republic, and my ardent desire that this noble experiment in self-government should not prove a failure. Macaulay prophesied the overthrow or dissolution of the American republic in the twentieth century because its constitution had too much sail and too little ballast. He predicted, as a preliminary to this dissolution, a state of things very similar to that which we are now experiencing. In optimism, which blindly hopes without taking note of actual conditions, lies our greatest peril, and he who can dispel this optimism will contribute to the security of the future. It is, therefore, a sign of the utmost significance when the Christian churches throughout the land become aroused to the necessity of grappling with these great and vital problems. They are not in themselves insoluble ; but they require for their solution all the patriotism, the earnestness and noble self-devotion which are found within the Church of Christ. It is in this sign, and in this alone, that we shall conquer.

GENERAL DISCUSSION.

REV. S. L. BALDWIN, D. D., OF BOSTON.

FORMERLY MISSIONARY TO CHINA.

MR. PRESIDENT: The people of this country may well consider whether the time has not come for laying some restrictions upon immigration; but, as is often the case, we began at the wrong end, and restricted immigration at the Golden Gate when we ought to have done it at Sandy Hook. Restriction should be upon some line of principle, and there should be no unnecessary exclusion of any one nationality. The industrious, peaceable Chinaman should not be excluded while lawless socialists and anarchists are freely admitted. No preference should be given to immigrants from Christian Europe over those from Pagan Asia, in cases where the facts prove the Pagans to be the more Christian of the two.

If an immigration law, imposing a moderate tax on every immigrant, and requiring a certificate, from the American consul at the port from which the immigrant sails, that he is a person of good moral character, and purposes to be a law-abiding resident of the United States, could be passed and enforced, it might prove a very beneficial measure. Christianity can approve of such a measure, as being in the interest of our country, and equally in the interest of the immigrants themselves, and therefore in strict accord with the Golden Rule.

But the exclusion of a Chinaman, merely because he is a Chinaman, is unjustifiable, and our present law is an abomination. It prevents the coming to this country of a Chinese preacher to preach to his countrymen—not that he is forbidden to come, but that the regulations adopted to make sure that no *laborer* shall come to this land of the free and home of the brave, require him to get certain papers of the provincial authorities, which it is impossible for him to obtain.

It also prohibits a Chinaman already here from bringing to this country his wife and children, notwithstanding the fact that one of

the chief objections urged to Chinese immigration is, that they do not bring their families here. A Christian Chinaman in New Haven, a respected member of one of the churches there, going home to China for a visit, was very desirous of bringing his wife and little son, and making his permanent home here. A petition, signed by the President and Professors of Yale College, and many leading citizens of New Haven, praying that he might have that privilege, was sent to the Secretary of the Treasury, who replied that, under the Act, as construed by the Department, it was impossible.

We complain of the Chinese that they do not become citizens, and proceed to remedy that evil by passing a law that they shall not be allowed to become citizens. We complain that they do not bring their families, and then make such regulations as will effectually prevent their bringing them. We complain that they are not Christians, and then proceed to commend Christianity to them by breaking their windows, and sometimes their heads, even in Boston; by imposing discriminating taxes upon them; by driving them out of their homes, burning their houses, and shooting them. Is it any wonder that they are not suddenly and universally charmed with Christianity? If we were immigrants in China, and Buddhists gave us a welcome of stones and dirt, and unjust taxation, and broken glass and shot-guns, would it materially improve our conceptions of Buddhism?

When a Chinese mob raged about the residence of my colleague, Martin, at Foochow, and he broke through the partition between his house and the Taouist temple adjoining, the Taouist priests took him and his family under their shelter, and in the presence of the grimy gods of Heathenism, they dwelt secure during that dreadful night. When the poor, hunted Chinese of Rock Springs were fleeing from their murderous pursuers, one sought shelter in the house of a Christian minister, but was told that he had better move on, and he did move on—to his death! How long will it take this kind of reciprocity to win the Chinese to Christ? But, you say, these murderous men were not Americans; and, thank God, they were not! But the fact remains that they were foreigners—ignorant, vicious foreigners from Europe—whose immigration we were encouraging by hundreds of thousands in a single year, while our politicians were standing aghast at an immigration of peaceful Chinamen, which had barely reached the sum of 100,000 in a quar-

ter of a century. And we reaped our harvest of shame when our boasted institutions had no sufficient control of those lawless European immigrants to prevent the slaughter, and no power to punish the offenders, or to secure any adequate redress.

We have reason for gratitude to God that, in spite of these wretched exhibitions of our weakness, and our complicity with wickedness, Christian kindness and Gospel work among our Chinese immigrants find the way to their hearts. A goodly number have been brought to Christ in our mission schools, even in San Francisco. Miss Carter's school, in the Mt. Vernon Church in Boston, had 124 Chinese pupils last Sunday. One of the leading Baptist churches in New York has as large a proportion of converts from its Chinese Sunday-school as from its American Sunday-school.

Briefly, then, let Christian statesmen deal with this immigration question on lines of Christian principle, looking to the securing of peaceful and law-abiding citizens, and doing away with all discriminations against a particular race. Let Christian philanthropy meet all the immigrants who come with kindness, protecting them from the miserable horde of sharpers who seek to fleece them on their arrival, so that the man who is not a pauper, when he lands at Castle Garden, is in danger of becoming such before he has been twenty-four hours in this land of freedom. Let it meet them with the warm, loving Gospel of Christ, get them into the churches, and give them the right start in their new home. Let immigrants of every class be protected in their just rights. Let the Roman Catholic Irishman, when legally naturalized, cast his *one* vote, as early as he pleases, but not more than once in one election. If, then, the Protestants of Boston choose to perpetuate the classic name of O'Brien in the mayoralty for scores of years to come, by staying away from the polls, on the ground that they are so bad and corrupt (because of their staying away from them), let O'Brien rule, and let the Mayor of the American Athens continue to present belts to brutal prize-fighters, while men who preach on Boston Common are sent to jail for that heinous offense, until Americans are shamed into united action to abolish such a disgraceful record, by taking off the heads, politically speaking, of the men who make such a record for us.

Then it may come to pass that the hoodlums of San Francisco shall be taught that a Chinaman has rights which they are bound to respect; decent Christian treatment may be secured to all our

immigrants; a heathen Chinaman's life may come to be as safe in Christian America as a Christian missionary's life is in heathen China; our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens may be given a rest from the arduous duties of governing our great cities for us in the interests of rum, by the aid of boodle; the political atmosphere may be cleared of the dense fogs of corruption; our legislative halls may be purged from

> "Ways that are dark and tricks that are vain,
> For which the Heathen Chinee is by no means peculiar,"

and Christianity, exemplified in national, State and individual life, may conquer all our heterogeneous elements for Christ, and make these United States, as they "of right ought to be," not only a "free and independent," but a thoroughly Christian nation.

REV. J. M. FOSTER, OF CINCINNATI.

The immigration question must be settled in the light of our Christian civilization. This Republic is a child of the Reformation. John Calvin and the Reformers set up the Geneva Republic; William the Silent and the Reformers from Holland set up the Dutch Republic; Pym, Hampden, Sidney, Cromwell and the Puritans gave England civil and religious liberty; Knox, Melville, Henderson and the Covenanters gave Scotland civil and religious liberty. But their principles had been announced at Sinai in the Decalogue, twenty-five hundred years before. The Puritans of England, the Covenanters of Scotland, the Presbyterians of Ireland, the Dutch Reformed from Holland, and the Huguenots from France brought civil and religious liberty to America. This country was settled by Christian men with Christian ends in view. The Pilgrim Fathers, before landing on Plymouth Rock, while yet in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, drafted a constitution of government. That constitution began: "In the name of God, Amen. For the glory of God and the maintenance of the Christian faith," etc. And Webster said that ought to have been the first sentence of the Constitution of the United States. In all the colonial charters and compacts, and in thirty-four out of thirty-eight State constitutions, a clear and distinct recognition is made of the authority of God

and the supremacy of His law in civil affairs. In all the inaugural addresses of our Presidents, save one, there is an acknowledgment of the responsibility of all nations in general, and of ours in particular, to the Governor among the nations. Our chaplaincies in army and navy, in congressional and legislative halls, the Bible in the public schools, the oath in courts of justice, the oath of office, the Sabbath laws, the laws against blasphemy, the laws guarding Christian marriage, etc., all point to this one fact—that this is a Christian nation.

What is the voice of Christianity on the immigration question? It is this: All men who may choose should be allowed to come here without let or hindrance, so long as they conform to our Christian civilization. Take the Chinese as an illustration:

The Chinamen are God's creatures, and, as such, have a right to go where they may choose upon God's earth; for "the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof." America does not belong to us. It belongs to God; and the Chinamen are just as much God's creatures as Americans, and have the same inalienable right to dwell here that we have. What right have the immigrants of 1620 to say to the immigrants of 1887, "You shall not come." It is absurd. But they have no right to bring their idols here, or to pursue their idolatrous customs. That is a violation of the Divine Law. And our Government was derelict in her duty when she allowed them to bring their idols to San Francisco, and set up their joss-houses there, and follow their heathenish practices, until a portion of that city became absolutely leprous; and there was a show of reason in the hoodlum cry that was raised, "The Chinese must go." That cry came rolling over the Rocky Mountains, and over the Allegheny Mountains, and struck the Capitol here at Washington, and both Houses responded in that infamous Anti-Chinese bill. What does the bill say? "No Chinaman shall come to America, to work, for ten years." 1. No Chinaman shall come. We have them here from France, Germany, Spain, Russia, Italy and Turkey. We have them here from England, Scotland and Wales. Why, we even have a few here from Ireland. But the patient, industrious, frugal, innocent, harmless Chinaman may not come. "How has the fine gold become dim!" 2. No Chinaman shall come *to work*. He can come for pleasure, for diplomatic purposes, to gamble or steal, but he may not come to *work*. We do not hesitate to denominate that bill anti-American, anti-humane, and anti-Chris-

tian. In adopting it we were sowing to the winds, and now we have been called to reap the whirlwind in the horrible massacre at Rock Springs, Wyoming, and in the riots against the Chinamen yonder on the Pacific slope. God has decreed it—that which a man sows, that shall he also reap; and this is true of nations. Burke once said, in the English Parliament, "Except you guard the rights of the humblest serf that walks your shores, you cannot preserve the rights of England's proudest peer"—a sentence which always thrills me when I think of it. We tried the experiment of trampling on the black man's rights, and in 1861 God came to make inquisition; and the price demanded was $9,000,000,000 and 1,000,000 precious lives, North and South, and a train of suffering and sorrow which reaches even to the present hour. As if forgetful of that lesson, we are now trampling upon the rights of the yellow man. And, by and by, God will come a second time for retribution. Let us remember, the second visit will be more severe than the first. The Chinamen, as God's creatures, have a right to come to God's America. They have no right to bring their idols or idolatrous customs here. That is a violation of the law of God. The State should prohibit the second; it should, in no wise, interfere with the first. And so that Christian principle, an essential element in our national life, settles the vexed anti-Chinese question. That Christian principle will settle every department of the immigration question. This nation began with immigration. It has become a great power by immigration. It will have a glorious future by immigration. Let God's law prevail!

THE MISUSE OF WEALTH.

BY MERRILL E. GATES, LL. D.

PRESIDENT OF RUTGERS COLLEGE.

WEALTH IS POWER. IT IS A SOCIAL FORCE.

Wealth is power. It is labor stored up in portable form. It is a charged battery of social force, which may be discharged again as motor-power when the owner will. It gives to its possessor his option among many possible lines of effort, in any of which it will further his ends. For wealth is "power to command, in exchange for itself, the labor or the products of labor of others."

Wealth is pre-eminently a social force. We have met in this Conference to study "social problems"—the study which has engrossed the best thought of the last century. Social problems have their conditions fixed by the interplay of social forces. And among social forces, wealth has a pre-eminent interest for us, because it is the meeting-place of labor and power. Into its production enters labor. In its use lies power. And most that concerns men in their social relations is intimately connected with labor and power.

Wealth cannot be so defined as not to carry in the definition suggestions of a scope vastly wider than selfish personal gratifications. The far-reaching power of wealth for good and for evil becomes more and more evident, as society becomes more complex. If wealth confers on a man the *power* to *command the labor* of other men, we find ourselves at once using terms so full of import that no one year, no one generation alone, can show their full meaning. When we speak of power in one person to command the fruits of other men's labor; when we deal with the responsibilities and the rights which belong to labor and to social power—we are using terms which history has freighted with significance.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SAYS TO THE TWENTIETH, "ALL MEN MUST LABOR."

The centuries have their great sub-tones, the diapason-note which one sounds out to another. As the eighteenth century went out in revolution and blood, it said to the nineteenth, "All men shall share in political power. All men shall govern." Round this doctrine the nineteenth century has shaped itself, with its abolition of human slavery, and its popular forms of government. The sovereignty of the people under God is the significance of our century. Before its resistless power, traditional and hereditary privileges of princes and nobility have steadily fallen away. And now, as its closing decade draws on, the nineteenth century sounds out as a key-note to the twentieth: "Now that all men govern, all men must be *laborers*, too. If all are to govern, all must serve. Fitness for sovereignty is proved only by ability to serve all!"

This is the emphasized utterance of our time. Before it, the last stronghold of selfish privilege, the plea of *wealth* that it can exempt its owners from God's universal law of *unselfish service*, the demand of wealth to be allowed in peace to blind its eyes to its own responsibilities, is to disappear before the law that each man is bound usefully to serve all.

It is a fine old legend, "*Noblesse oblige;*" noble blood binds one to noble service. Just so the noblest men of wealth of our time are beginning—*only* beginning—to awaken to the power of the legend "*Richesse oblige.*" They are beginning to recognize the truth that wealth lays the heaviest possible obligation on its owner, to make his unselfish service of the highest welfare of his fellow-men reach out as widely as his wealth can extend that service. This means that men can no longer be left, unquestioned, to use their wealth, be it great or small, merely for their own selfish gratification. It means that the unvarying law of God which attaches an obligation to every opportunity, and places a duty over against every right, makes no exception of wealth, with its vast powers of service. "With new ability; new responsibility." Wealth is power; and for the unselfish use of *all* his powers, every man must give an account to the God who has taught us that "no man liveth to himself alone."

POWER MAY BE MISUSED.

Wealth is power. Always power carries with it a possibility of

its misuse. As a nation we have been told for the last half century that we were going to be very rich. Each succeeding census has surprised us with its statistics of our wealth. To-day, we are the richest nation in the world. The figures appall us. Over $50,000,000,000, with a daily increase in wealth of more than $6,000,000 ! Never were we so rich as we are to-day. And yet there are grave doubts, on all sides, as to whether we are gaining ground, socially, politically, morally, in these prosperous years. It is not long since a keenly observant (if not complimentary) visitor to America told us, in the chastely severe dialect of his native island, that we were "too beastly prosperous !" We understood him without difficulty ! And in our hearts we knew that he told us a truth! We have ceased to feel unqualified pride in this abounding wealth. We ask ourselves whether industry in money-getting alone will save a nation. There is a suspicion abroad among us that, while intent upon what we have called "enlightened self-interest," as a people we have lost sight of a host of shining virtues. A prosperous commonwealth is *not* insured by the material prosperity which makes wealth common.

WEALTH IS MISUSED WHEN IT IS USED MERELY TO GET MORE WEALTH.

When power is used only that the man who wields it may get for himself *more power*, there is danger. To devise checks upon power, to restrain its tendency to beget *more* power, is a large part of the work of the Science of Politics. Wealth is power. And the deepest-seated danger in its use is the tendency to regard it as in itself an end, not as a means for obtaining nobler ends.

The most dangerous misuse of wealth is, using it *merely* to get more wealth. A tendency to this misuse is involved in the very nature of the process of wealth-winning. It finds expression in maxims like this, "Let all your spending be for tools of your trade." The steady purpose of the devotees of wealth-winning is to get more power without reference to any right use of that power. In this grim determination to get more wealth at any cost, the man moves and lives and has his being. This is that "*pleonexia*," that covetous "I *will* have more," which God has expressly called "*idolatry*." Wealth is put openly and prominently in the place of God. "Of money, and through money, and to money are all things in my life, and to money be the glory," is the faith that is in such

a man—a faith revealed by his actions. The clear perception that the eager pursuit of wealth strongly tends thus to engross all a man's powers and aspirations, will explain the fact, one has said, that the Lord Jesus Christ saw in this the only power of evil which he deemed threatening enough in its tendencies to be *personified* as a rival of God for the first place in a man's life. He personifies the money-god, Mammon. And He explicitly warns men that they must choose between this mad pursuit of gain and the service of the living God. "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." But the money-god has hosts of apparently single-hearted servants in our land! A passionate eagerness in money-getting, a feverish thirst for quick gains, such as the world never before saw, marks our life as a people.

THE RACE FOR WEALTH.

"Money breeds!" "It's the first ten thousand that costs; get that, by foul means or fair, but *get it*, and then the thousands will roll up!" As this strong-sweeping current of gain gets hold of a man, there comes a rapidly accelerated motion that takes the breath away. There is an awful peril in launching on this subtly sucking current of the determination to be quickly rich, and then to be just a little richer, and then to be among the richest! What multitudes of fresh, manly young fellows, the high aspirations of home and college still radiant in their boyish faces, we have seen each year sucked into the outer circles of the great whirlpools of speculation in our cities! Here surge those deep waters spoken of by Paul to Timothy, where "they that *will be rich* fall into temptation and a snare and many hurtful and foolish lusts, which *drown men* in destruction and perdition." As the whirlpool seethes on, we see the drowned men tossed out, ruined in character, paralyzed, broken at forty! With half-palsied brain, and eye that has lost its compelling power, such a man can now read and understand the words, "He that maketh haste to be rich, *shall not be unpunished.*"

GAZING AT GAIN BLINDS MEN TO MORAL DISTINCTIONS. THE "HYPNOTISM" OF WEALTH-WINNING.

But even if a man escape this terrible passion of thirst for money, for the mere sake of getting money, there is another dangerous effect which attends the contemplation of money gains as the chief end of life. Let us call it the "hypnotizing" power of gold.

The process of hypnotizing is most effective with persons whose will-power is not so strong as is that of the most determined and ambitious victims of the *will* to be rich at any cost. Symptoms of hypnotism, more or less clearly developed, are discernible in most men whose life is immersed in money-getting.

Here are a few sentences describing the phenomena of "hypnotism;" sentences taken chiefly from Carpenter's "Mental Physiology," and not intended by him to have any bearing upon such a subject as ours. See whether or not they apply to our theme.

The process of hypnotizing a person is simple. Place before his eyes, and very close to them, some bright glittering object—(a *gold coin* is often used !)—in such a way that he will constantly *look up* to it; and let him fix his attention on this to the exclusion of all other objects. The results which follow are thus described: "The whole force of the man goes into this concentration of attention and will-power upon the sensorial impression." There is "an entire engrossment of the mind" in "sensory impressions," which are "received with extreme vividness." His view "tends to become narrower and narrower;" "it tends to unity and afterward to nullity." Through this fixedness of attention upon *one object*, Dr. Garth Wilkinson continues, "the world of sensations" "plays upon" him "as upon an instrument finely attuned." He is now open to every suggestion from the governing will of the manipulator who has brought about this state of self-surrender through the senses. "No doubts or difficulties present themselves to distract the attention." He will undertake impossibilities at a word of command. He cannot take his eyes off the object he is told to see. He refuses to see what lies directly before his eyes unless the master-will bids him recognize it. And all the while the victim fancies himself master of his own actions; and when "he comes to himself," he describes himself as having felt, in his previous condition of pitiable slavery to another, utter obliviousness to, or profound contempt for, any and all other sensations and courses of action than the one to which his master-sensation, induced by the master-will, impelled him!

Have you not known many men who were thus "hypnotized" by gazing at wealth—mesmerized slaves of the Mammon-god? The *will* to do anything else but make money is gone. The keen, incredulous gaze with which such men meet you who preach to them, when motives and aspirations higher than money-getting are

suggested to them, shows you that they will not understand and do not believe you. You cannot reach them with your voice. They do not hear you. They are as hopelessly beyond reach of argument as are the shrewd, keen wild animals, whose crafty, narrow-eyed intelligence in doing the one thing they plan to do, you wonder at, but cannot reason with. In such men's hearts, "a strong man armed keepeth the palace," and until "a stronger than he" (even the Mightiest !) "shall come upon him and overcome him" Mammon has sway!

THE "HYPNOTIZED" RICH MAN BLUNDERS AS TO TRUE VALUES.

This perversion of all the powers of the man to money-winning accounts for much of what we call the "gross materialism" of our land and of our time. To men thus "hypnotized" by money, sensual delights, material evidences of wealth, luxurious surroundings, are intensely *real.* These are the embodiment of what they seek. To the world of ideas, of broad human sympathies, of religion, they are *dead.* They simply cannot see these great realities. This one thing they do, they *make money!* This one test they constantly and automatically apply to all questions submitted to them, "Is there money in it?"

It was to a shrewd financier of this type, who had just completed large plans for reorganizing his industries and his warehouses on a larger scale, that Supreme Wisdom, when here among men, broke out with the pitying exclamation, "Thou fool!" This typical rich fool had not missed a point in his calculations, so far as money-making was concerned. Yet he had really made the blunder, inexcusable in a business-man, of leaving out of account, altogether, the highest present and future values involved in his transactions! Keen money-makers of his class are after all deceived in such a childish way! While they pride themselves on their shrewdness, they steadily lose on every bargain. They invest only in securities that cannot be realized on when the day of settlement comes; they make no use of the finest business opening they have in life, the chance to use the power their wealth gives them to serve the world nobly; and the most valuable title they ever held, the title to their own souls, they let slip out of their hands for nothing! What is the real percentage of net profit, when you sum up such a life?

FROM THIS BLINDING EFFECT OF DEVOTION TO MONEY-GETTING FOLLOW A HOST OF MISUSES OF WEALTH.

From this blindness to all other forces save the material power of wealth, a host of misuses of money follow. We are sadly familiar with the catalogue! Speculation on assumed values, that becomes mere gambling, while it plays with the fortunes and the daily bread of millions; other forms of gambling undisguised, leading directly to those breaches of trust which have grown too familiar in our daily papers; the wholesale adulteration of food and of other articles of merchandise; gigantic monopolies and fictitious "trusts" organized to serve as vast trip-hammers in pulverizing all rivals; the heartless recklessness of corporations, regarding the life and health of employees; the printing of licentious literature, which corrupts the boys and girls of our land, poisoning life at its fountain-head; and the enormous liquor-traffic, desolater of homes, breaker of hearts, breeder of crimes, with its natural outcome, the effort in the interest of the saloons to break down that strong bulwark of Christianity and morality, the American Sunday. These and countless other misuses of wealth threaten us—and are traceable to the principle we have noticed, *the narrowing of the mind to money-making as an end in itself*, and the consequent oblivion to all moral ideas and forces, to all noble ends as motives in gaining and using the power of wealth.

THE MISUSE OF WEALTH MOST COMMON AMONG CHRISTIAN PEOPLE IS, REFUSING TO MAKE ANY USE OF IT.

But the misuse of wealth which is most common among professedly Christian people is, after all, the greatest peril that threatens our land. The crying sin of the respectable rich people of America is the *ignoring* of all true ends in the use of wealth—the effort to evade responsibility for any unselfish use of its great power for good.

The empty display of wealth, merely to outstrip others who are rich, is not a *use* of wealth. Foolish vanity and useless heart-burnings are not the gravest consequences of such reckless lavishness. It is manifestly designed to challenge *envy*. And it attains its end. By such displays there is awakened, in the very poor, an envy which, in multitudes, is fast turning into a deep-seated hatred of the rich. It is upon *envy* of the rich that the anarchists chiefly rely for the propagation of their doctrines. And anarchists' threats

no longer have the dim, remote sound which they had for us five years ago. They are growing painfully familiar. Can they in any *other way be so surely checked, as by those helpful uses of wealth which prevent an utter alienation between the rich and the poor?* While there may be generous expenditure of wealth upon the comforts and the elegancies of refined homes, families who set examples of wasteful, luxuriant extravagance uniformly corrupt good manners and lower public morals. "Fashionable society in our great towns is babyish; wealth is made a toy," says Emerson. For rich men generally refuse to recognize their responsibility to use wealth unselfishly for the welfare of all. Yet in such unselfish service we are called on to use all the powers and social forces at our command. Why should wealth be the sole exception to this law? God has so ordered the social life of our race, that no man can make the most of his own powers of mind and heart and will until he employs those powers in the service of his fellow-men. This is an accepted law in the realm of mind and spirit. It is no less binding upon the power which material wealth places at a man's disposal. No man has the slightest right to say of his wealth, "It is *mine;* I may use it selfishly if I will." Wealth is power.

There still lurks, in the minds of many, a confused feeling that if a man has inherited wealth, or has early accumulated it, he is by this made *free from the law of service*, and may live henceforth a useful or a useless life, as he pleases, no one having the right to call him to account for it. Not so! The compiler of the old Webster's Spelling-book chose wisely when he formed the moral conceptions of an entire generation of school children on that bracing and stimulating sentence, "No man may put off the Law of God!" If a poor man applies to you for assistance, you brand him at once as unworthy, if it can be said of him, "He never does a stroke of work." Does the accident of having money in bank make it any less disgraceful for a man to have it truly said of him, "He never does a stroke of work"? The rich man has no right to live lazily on his wealth, doing nothing for his fellow-men, while he is supported by the stored-up labor of his ancestors. If he has health, yet does no work with brain or hand for his fellows, he has no more right to exist among honest men than has the able-bodied tramp! In the social organism, he is as truly a pauper as is the man who is fed and clothed from the poor-tax!

The misuses which we have noticed suggest the *right use of* wealth. Its right use does not lie in indiscriminate alms-giving, in filling every outstretched hand and open mouth. So wealth might be made to disappear. Not so can it be rightly used. Nor does a right theory of the use of wealth lead to communistic views of property. If all the wealth of our land were equally divided, the share of each man, woman and child, if securely invested at five per cent., would yield but about forty dollars a year. If the principal sum were placed in the hands of each, it would soon be squandered, and inequalities of fortune would again be the inevitable outcome of differing degrees of industry and ability in different individuals.

WEALTH MUST BE USED TO PRODUCE NEW WEALTH—TO PRODUCE THE HIGHEST VALUES.

Wealth must be *used for service* according to its own laws. It must be used as *capital;* that is, as wealth employed in the production of new wealth, of new values. But in such use of wealth let us have a clear-eyed recognition of various kinds of value, and of degrees in values. And let us insist upon the steady, systematic preference of *those values which are highest.* Intelligence, morality, conscience, and will-power which is steadied and strengthened by conscience, have the highest economic values. Wealth so used as to promote the prevalence of these qualities among a people is in the truest sense employed in the production of new wealth.

Just as truly as teacher and preacher are under economic laws, and are bound to pay their debts and support their families, just so truly are business men under moral and spiritual law, and under obligation to win and use their wealth, and *all* their wealth, with a constant regard to the moral and spiritual welfare of their community and their race. No man is free to choose as to whether he or his property shall come under God's law of service. He is under that law by virtue of his birth, as he is in society and a member of the State, without his having been asked. He owes steady allegiance to that law of service, by virtue of the solidarity of God's universe of law. And though, in managing his property he may *disregard* this obligation, he can never *escape* it.

When Christian wealth, which is *concentrated power of service*, becomes really *consecrated power of service* in the hands of those who

use it, how rapidly we shall move forward in the solution of many of the knottiest problems of social reform !

Wealth, since it is "the usufruct of skill, intelligence and morality," is under obligation steadily to reproduce morality, intelligence and skill. "Redeem the time" that was withheld from God's work by you, while you were making money ! Buy it back, by using this money conscientiously for God's work. If you have inherited wealth, let the time and labor *involved* in the rolling up of a fortune be *evolved* again, in days and years of active philanthropic and Christian work, done by workers whom your money supports in teaching, in preaching, and in mission-fields. What vast donations overdue to schools of applied industry, to institutions of learning and to Christian missions, this view suggests !

WEALTH PRODUCES THE HIGHEST VALUES, WHEN IT HELPS MEN TO HELP THEMSELVES.

To educate men in the knowledge and use of their own powers, and to bring them under the sway of right principles and feelings, is the true way to make them help themselves. But in every community there is a mass of inefficiency, ignorance and vice, which the stronger and the better must help to elevate. The ignorance, misery and sin of the world is a terrible reality. It will not let thoughtful men sleep ! It ought not to let rich men sleep, unless their wealth, which is power of service, is constantly doing something to relieve it. "It was never meant that man should be completely happy, while his fellows are in pain," says one of the truest of our social philosophers.

To make less this sum of ignorance and misery, the man of wealth has many wise ways open to him. To help to work out plans of successful co-operation or profit-sharing, opens a noble avenue for service. The moral effects of such experiments on employers and men are incalculably good.

"He is the rich man in whom the *people* are rich." There is a growing disposition on the part of rich men to recognize this truth by giving public parks, museums and libraries for the use of the people. There is a growing wish to make the life of our toiling men "richer with respect to soul, mind and body." But all attempts to do this throw us back always upon *intellectual, moral and spiritual forces*, as the means, through education, of raising the condition of men. Something may be done by way of pro-

viding halls, books and apparatus for that process of self-education, in matters political, social and industrial, toward which discussions in their own organizations so strongly impel our laboring-men. What a difference in power to produce values, between the dollar you spend to add to your dinner a dish of fruit out of its season, and the dollar you put into a good book upon the duties of citizenship, and place in the hands of an intelligent young workman in one of the labor unions!

But even if wealth had supplied all the material appliances which men need for self-education and self-elevation, the question would remain, Have the men whom you wish to make self-helpful *the desire* to help themselves? The effort to answer this question will force us to consider such men as individuals; to come into relations with them one by one. To influence personalities strongly, is the great desideratum.

SUCH HELP IS STRONGEST WHEN THE STRONGEST PERSONALITY TOUCHES MEN'S WILLS ONE BY ONE.

The mightiest educating power is a strong personality. The greatest work which Christian wealth can do for the world is to help to bring men, one by one, under the sway of that one Supreme Personality, the Lord Jesus Christ! The only hope for men is in a close personal relation with a Personal Saviour. Not in masses will men be lifted out of vice and sin. Society will be purified, institutions will be made better and kept better, only as men are drawn one by one to "Him who has been lifted up." The great social discontent of our time springs from the lack of a true center for each man's life, in Christ. The pitiable, blind yearnings of Socialism must touch the hearts of Christians, because they are the groping of men after that true brotherhood which men find only when they see the fatherhood of God. Christ is the "Desire of the Nations," though they know Him not. And in our time and in our land, *the noblest use for wealth* is, in promoting efforts to bring the gospel of Christ home to the hearts of the people and to bring the people home to Christ.

Since wealth has in it the noble possibility of being thus transmuted into spiritual power, how do Christians *dare* to use so much of it for lower purposes? If the "love of Christ constraineth us," if we and all our possessions have been "bought with a price," the true view is, not "how much of my money ought I to use for the

Lord's work," but, rather, "all that I am and all that I have is my Lord's; how much of my Lord's substance ought I to use on my family and myself?"

The truth is that wealth is a mighty power, but an exceedingly *dangerous* power for him who uses and holds it. The Christian who is to withstand its temptations and to use it aright must constantly ask guidance from God. It is the "*deceitfulness* of riches" which makes Christians imagine that they can lightly set aside or ignore the emphatic warnings of God's Word regarding riches. Only the power and love of God can enable Christians safely to handle wealth. And when all is said, the giving of wealth for Christian work is not a mere business transaction. "They that trust in their wealth and boast themselves in the multitude of their riches, none of them can by any means redeem his brother, or give to God a ransom for him." Only the *power of the Holy Spirit can transmute money gifts into Christian influences which shall win souls to Christ.*

"AMERICA FOR CHRIST." "THE WORLD FOR CHRIST."

The crisis in our national life calls most loudly for Christian work and Christian giving in home-fields. From heathen lands come such requests for Christian teachers and missionaries as appall our mission-boards. In our colleges are two thousand young men who say to the Church of America, "Send us; we are ready to go." Now that fields are open and laborers ready, shall we hold back our Lord's money, and keep these heralds of glad tidings from the work they are ready to do?

What an opportunity to use for the noblest ends that *power*, that *concentrated life-effort*, which is coined in wealth! You, Christian men of means, who feel that the strength of your life has gone into wealth-winning, yet who have felt your heart stirred by the devotion of a Livingstone or a Hannington or a Chamberlain, will you not use God's money entrusted to your management to educate and support such heroic workers for Christ?

"*Defer not charities till death*," says Bacon, "for certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than his own." Use your wealth for Christ while you can yourself direct its use, while you can yourself see and enjoy the mighty moral and spiritual values which are produced from the

right use of wealth. The example of Christian men and women of property who go "at their own charges" to mission fields, is inspiring; many will follow it!

Drawn together here by the power of Christian love, let us plan liberal things for the promotion of Christ's kingdom. Let us be ready to give to such Christian work as we may here devise, time and labor which shall bless the godless homes about us.

Let us give time and money joyously, for the love of Christ. Let us rejoice in the brotherly spirit which pervades a gathering of Christians such as this. And if we feel a joyous elation in the conviction that strong men, banded together for the service of God, with His blessing can accomplish much, let us welcome and not distrust that sense of social joy.

"God loveth a cheerful giver." Have you studied the precise import of the word translated cheerful? It came to me with wonderful force a few days since, as I was reading my Greek Testament. The word is "*hilaron.*" There is no mistaking its import. God loves a whole-souled, "hilarious" giver—one who is not ashamed of the cause for which he gives—one who, with a strong, buoyant, joyous confidence in the cause, in the men who are working with him for it, and, above all, in the God who directs the work, gives freely, heartily and *with a swing!* To the sense of duty from the law of Christian service, shall we not by God's help add this crowning grace of spontaneous, hearty, *hilarious* Christian giving of time and money for the cause of our Master?

GENERAL DISCUSSION.

REV. ROBERT C. MATLACK, D. D., OF PHILADELPHIA.

SECRETARY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL EDUCATION SOCIETY.

MR. PRESIDENT: I have come to this city deeply oppressed with a sense of my responsibility as a delegate to this Conference of Christian workers. My burden has become more and more heavy, as I have heard of the perils within and without by which the

Church and the country are endangered. Thoughtful, wise and good men who are not alarmists, but careful students of history, as well as observers of our own times, have shown clearly that both the Church and the State are in imminent danger through our national prosperity. The nation seems to stand trembling on the very pinnacle of exaltation. A false step may cast her down to utter ruin. The one deep, heart-searching question of every clergyman and layman of this vast audience should be, What can I do, what *ought* I do, to avert this calamity? Professor Gates has laid down, at some length, the great principles which should guide us in our resolves at this solemn hour.

It remains for me, in the few minutes allotted me by Secretary Strong, to make practical application of these principles to our daily life. My official position has thrown me in contact with Christian men of great wealth in various parts of the country. I am to give the results of my experience with these men, to report how the matter of using their wealth for God seems to lie in their minds. I must confess that, with a few noble exceptions, I have found no deep sense of responsibility connected with the possession of wealth; no conviction, or even just conception, of stewardship among our wealthy men. Hence there is no giving "as the Lord has prospered." *No spontaneous, generous and proportionate giving.*

The wealth of the nation is put down at fifty billions of dollars, and it is increasing rapidly. A very large proportion of this enormous wealth is in the hands of the ten million communicants of Evangelical churches, and yet we do not give *one-hundredth part* of it to the work of sending the gospel to those who are "without God and without hope." With our abundant resources the work of the Lord languishes both here and beyond the seas. Is not this an alarming fact? Will not "judgment begin at the house of God?" I fear that we, the clergy and ambassadors of Christ, are largely responsible for this state of things.

Allow me to relate a personal incident. A few years ago. I preached a sermon in the city of New York, enforcing the text, "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me," and urged that self-denial is essential to true discipleship, and that no man could know the luxury of giving to the Lord, unless he practiced it.

Soon after, one of the wealthiest men of the congregation and of the city met me with the salutation, "Doctor, you preach an

impracticable gospel. How could a man of my wealth deny himself in the matter of giving? I must confess that your sermon set me to thinking. I have never heard anything like it before from the pulpit; self-denial in money-giving is a strange doctrine. In my case the application could not be made in the matter of giving money. I must practice self-denial in other ways—I must deny my lower nature, subdue my temper, passions, etc. God has given me my talent for making money, and I must exercise it." I replied, "Dear Brother, Christ's gospel, which I preach, is not impracticable; it applies to every man and to every particular of his life. *The law of self-denial is as universal as the gospel of salvation.* It is entirely practicable for you to deny yourself in the matter of giving. It is true that your talent for money-making must be used, but with the divine limitations, 'Diligent in business, fervent in spirit, *serving the Lord.*' God gives the talent, not that you may accumulate, but that you may distribute. His incentive is, 'Working that you may have to give,' and He assures you that 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.'"

"Pray, how could I practice self-denial in giving? My income is such that I could give the whole $50,000 you ask for Education, and not feel it. I could also give the $150,000 which the Church asks for foreign missions, and the $200,000 which she asks for domestic missions, and not touch my capital. I could run the Episcopal Church in her general and aggressive work, and still add to my capital year by year. How can your argument apply to a man in my position? I tell you, you preach an impracticable gospel; this unreal preaching fails to reach men."

"My brother, you have made a fearful acknowledgment—you have immense power of doing good; *with this power comes immense responsibility.* It is written, 'He that hath much, of him much will be required.' I believe you are honest and sincere in asking, 'How can I meet my responsibility? How can I deny myself?'

"*First* then, now and here, *Resolved*, before God, that you will never add another dollar to your fortune.

"*Second, Resolved*, that you will continue in business and work with your usual wisdom and energy, and devote all your earnings to the cause of Christ.

"*Third, Resolved*, that, as an example to the rising generation of modest living, you will sell your mansion, reduce your

domestic expenses, and give the money thus saved to doing good. Would not this be self-denial?" "Indeed, it would." "Is it not practicable?" "I presume so." "Ah, my brother, if you would know something of the luxury of giving, try this experiment. It has been tried by men who have not a tithe of your wealth, and they have rejoiced in doing it. You could place in every needy locality in New York a missionary and a church, and support them all. Aye, under God, your single fortune, properly used, would regenerate the entire city—yes, you could circle the globe with gospel light." My friend evaded the force of my appeal by asking, "Did not *our church* do well? Did not we give $3,000?" Thus, alas! we lose sight of our individual and personal shortcomings, in congratulating ourselves upon the aggregate of church work and church generosity. The great question for each one to ponder is, What am *I* giving? What am *I* doing for the Master?

The wealthiest church of a thousand members will sing a Jubilate over a five thousand dollar collection for missions, and be lauded by the religious papers for its generosity, when there are fifty or a hundred persons in the congregation, any one of whom could have given the whole amount without modifying his luxurious living or checking his rapid accumulations.

If clergy and laity were baptized by the Holy Spirit into fuller consecration, so that body, mind and soul, with all their powers, should be given to God, we would soon hear the nation, and the entire world, singing joyfully to the Lamb, "Thou art worthy, for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests."

Let us, brethren of the clergy, be more faithful to those whom God has committed to our care. They will heed us if we plead with them earnestly and affectionately to enter upon *a higher, nobler use of their God-given wealth.* There are thousands of Christian men in this country, whose incomes or business earnings are from fifty thousand to five hundred thousand dollars and upwards a year, to say nothing of the multitudes who possess smaller fortunes. The majority of them are absorbed in making and accumulating money. They seem to know nothing of the blessedness of generous giving. The more money they acquire, the more blunted their sense of responsibility concerning its use, for

God and man, seems to become. I pity these rich men, and especially the millionaires. They have little faithful instruction and warning. They are flattered and cajoled, where Paul would have "reproved, rebuked and exhorted with all long suffering," and Christ would have cried out, "How *hardly* shall they who have riches enter the kingdom of God." "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." *Self-denial and self-sacrifice for Christ are fast becoming obsolete virtues* in Christian life and character, and especially among those who are most able to give largely to His cause. Does not this indicate lukewarmness and indifference, where we should be intensely earnest and aroused? Does it not show unconcern for those who are going rapidly to destruction, and intimate that we are insensible to our great responsibility concerning their rescue? There is certainly very little large, spontaneous and cheerful giving in grateful love to Christ our Redeemer. With the increase of our means, do we not generally enlarge our mode of living, and add to our luxuries, rather than manifest new generosity to Christ? Is not the great question now, as in Christ's time, "Where shall I bestow my goods?" Does not this question follow us even until we near the call, "This night thy soul shall be required of thee."

Thousands of dollars are annually spent by Christian families upon the mere refinements, elegancies and adornments of life. Thousands are also spent upon our churches to gratify the ear and the eye, to excite the sensibilities, and make the way to heaven easy and luxurious. The gratification of the taste is surely lawful when under discipline and control; but is there not a fearful disproportion between our expenditures for these refinements and luxuries of life, and our gifts to Christ for the spread of His gospel among men? Are we not more bent upon gratifying our taste, indulging our desires, adding to our comforts, than in helping and saving our fellow-men?

The late Dr. Muhlenberg said, in view of the tendency to lavish money upon ourselves, and meagerly to dole it out to Christ: "The man who finds no interest in those beyond his own family, will soon have a selfish household; the rector who confines his appeals and labor to the work of his own parish, will soon have a selfish congregation; the bishop who, by absorption in the work of his particular field, becomes indifferent to every other claim, will soon

have a selfish diocese. Selfishness, whenever and however fostered and developed, must eventually *work the ruin of the home interest*, which it attempts to serve by this narrow policy." A few thousand dollars a year, contributed by the wealthiest man, will give him a reputation for generosity in any congregation, when it may not be a tithe of his income, and never touch his luxuries or check rapid additions to his already dangerous fortune. Even those who give thus liberally are encouraged to spend it, I had almost said to *waste* it, upon the trappings of the church in which they worship, rather than in ameliorating the condition of the poor, or sending the gospel beyond their own borders. A few give a tenth to the Lord, under the impression that this is their *full* share. This is law, not gospel; defective law at best, for the Jew gave three tenths to the Lord, and was charged by the prophet with "robbing God" when he withheld it. The Gospel says, "Ye are not your own, ye are bought with a price," even the precious blood of Christ. His image and superscription are written upon *us, and all that we have and can acquire*, and we are commanded, "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." The responsibility of the Christian Church is appalling, when viewed in connection with the vast wealth in the hands of her members, and the power for good which is committed to her trust. We dislike to speak of duty and responsibility in connection with service for our Divine Master. These are cold, hard words, though true and solemn. Let us get upon the higher plane of *privilege and luxury in doing good.* Frequently God inspires us by the hundredfold reward in the life that now is, and in that which is to come. If our eye be fixed upon the price of our redemption, and then upon the reward of loving service, the generous sacrifice and the full hand will never be wanting. Alas! how few have any experience of this self-denying, luxurious giving. *The great need of the Church is interest in God's work, and not ability to do that work.* With the great increase of wealth in the Church, there is no corresponding increase of generosity. *Give till you feel it, if you woula enjoy it.*

Some of you may recall a striking incident—which was communicated to the New York press, a few years ago, by a deeply humbled minister. One of the leading members of his church was greatly distressed in his last sickness, on reviewing his mode of living, and reflecting upon the large amount he had spent upon his

family, and the comparatively small sum he had given to the Lord. In every way the pastor endeavored to comfort him. He spoke of his having always given cheerfully, and as much as others did. He reminded him that the best of us are unprofitable servants, and must look to the mercy of God in Christ as our only hope. The troubled man found no peace or comfort, but grew more and more uneasy, distressed and agonized as his end drew near. At last, taking the hand of his pastor, he said: "Brother, I am going to the Judge unprepared to meet him, because you have been unfaithful to me. For years I have lived, and taught my family to live, largely for this world. We have denied ourselves nothing, but spent thousands on personal comforts and luxuries. When I gave hundreds to Christ and His Church, it should have been thousands. My business energy, and time and money, have been most devoted to self-pleasing and gratification, and how can I meet my Judge and give an account of my stewardship? I am beyond recovery. Do what you can to save other professors who are in the same current of worldly self-indulgence and extravagance, which is sweeping them to destruction."

ESTRANGEMENT OF THE MASSES FROM THE CHURCH.

BY BISHOP J. F. HURST, D. D., LL. D., OF BUFFALO.

We have half won our victory when we see the place where defeat is possible. There is an alarming multitude of people who never enter the door of a Christian church, who have no sympathy with the Inspired Word, and who are either indifferent or dead to every sanctity of our faith. For them the Sabbath bell has no welcome charm. The most are exhausted by a week's battle for existence, or, rather, by the struggle of a life-time for bread. Many, indeed, are groaning beneath the still heavier burden of having no labor, and knowing that starvation is entering the door. The world's deepest misery, like its sublimest faith, is without speech. Only small needs have vital force enough to utter the wild wail of despair.

This disproportion between the few who are attendants at Christian churches and the multitudes who never cross the threshold of one, is a terrible reality. The churches are a unit in admitting the unwelcome fact. No optimist, with the chimes from a dozen bells in his ears at once, dares to deny that throughout Christendom, where one individual pauses and enters the sanctuary on the Sabbath day, at least two others pass by, and go upon errands of indifference, work, or downright sin.

Berlin can be considered the center of the world's most advanced culture. Its university, with its two hundred professors and thousands of students, is absolutely free. Its rays of good and of evil reach farther than from any other burning intellectual center on earth. Indeed, the most of the present bold and defiant skepticism of England and America is only the threadbare, sun-browned, and now cast-aside rags, which, some seasons earlier, had hung up in all their glossy finish and buttons of very heavy brass in the Berlin,

Heidelberg, and other German wardrobes. But what does the population of the magnificent metropolis of the German Empire furnish for the churches? For the one and one-quarter million of the population of Berlin there are but sixty places of worship of every sort—Jewish and Christian, State Church, and the in-flowing sects.* This is but one church to about 21,000 souls. In London, with its five and one-half millions of population, and its 1,647 Protestant and Roman Catholic churches for that multitude, we have about 3,350 people for every church. In Boston, in 1880 there was but one Protestant church to every 1,600 of the population; in Chicago, one to every 2,081; in New York, one to every 2,468; and in St. Louis, one to every 2,800.†

SCANTY CHURCH ACCOMMODATIONS FOR THE PEOPLE.

We have, therefore, this appalling fact before us: If every one should accept our invitation to come to the gospel feast, there would not be enough churches to accommodate our cordially invited guests. Should all the people in the Protestant world desire to hear the gospel just once, and approach the churches for a single service, they would pack the very streets which run past the sacred edifices. The Protestant world builds its churches as if it expected only our most worthy selves, and our well-behaved and highly respectable neighbors, and advantageous commercial friends, to worship in them. In the parable of the Great Supper our Lord portrayed the generous invitations, the forceful liberality of the feast, and the many who accepted the invitations. But there is no intimation that the host had a scanty table or a limited supply of seats. His only anxiety, as he himself declared, was "that my house may be filled." Every word which our Lord spoke, in clear statement or in picturesque parable, leads to the conclusion that his church is guilty, if its provision for hearing the Word is not as ample as the number of the invitations which it extends.

THE HOSTILITY OF THE MASSES TO THE TRUTH.

The causes of the alarming gulf between the Christian units and the unreached tens and hundreds are manifold. Some are of our own making, while others belong to our social and political environment.

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* Loomis, Modern Cities, p. 84.

† Loomis, Modern Cities, pp. 88, 89.

The root of all is, the spiritual condition of the masses is not in harmony with the truth of God, or with the sanctuaries where it is proclaimed, or with the universal brotherhood of believers. Those who hold themselves aloof from the ministrations of the gospel are attracted by the secular forces about them. They stay at home, if they have one, a part of the day, because the house of God has no charm for them. Others, far from being able to say, "A day in Thy courts is better than a thousand," were they compelled to make a choice, would, unfortunately, prefer to dwell in the tents of wickedness, rather than serve as doorkeepers in God's house. Then the Sunday newspaper is so convenient! And so religious! What devout editors, to glean from all the ecclesiastical and religious serials of all lands such a rich anthology, so broad as to satisfy all denominational tastes, and even people of no confessional attachments! How kind not to limit their devotions to the use of the scissors, but even to enrich the already heavily laden editorial page with some priceless theological lucubrations! Then, how public spirited withal! No trains so swift as their Sunday morning express train, which distributes the journals far and wide to the expectant public. To read the whole of the Sunday paper will inevitably make one late for the Sabbath morning service. After the post-prandial rest at home, and drive in the park, come, in the evening, the exchange of visits and the renewing of old acquaintanceships, and some slight anticipations of Monday's business. But this easy-going class is limited. The great majority of people who never see the interior of a church are poor, lodge in basements and garrets, are ragged, and, if they have a friend, are never successful in learning his address. For them, the stroll on the street, or in the parks, or out on the country road, or a long stay in the saloon, must take the place of any attendance upon the worship of God. When once the Divine Spirit reaches these multitudes, the house of God will be an attraction which they cannot resist.

THE ANTAGONISM OF THE FOREIGNER.

Foreigners and their children constitute about one-third of our population. It is the dream of the German, the Scandinavian, the Bohemian, the Pole, the Irishman, from the time he can lisp his native tongue, to wander over land and sea until he reaches this paradise—the Western World. No gentle *Mignon* ever

had such delightful memories of the vines and flowers and stately houses and tottering ruins of dear, sweet Italy, as the girls and boys, children of Europe's soldiers and wage-earners, have anticipations of in this broad America. The day when they can step aboard the out-bound vessel at Hamburg, Christiana, Copenhagen, Bremen, Rotterdam, Havre or Cork, is the day of their transfiguration. The winds which bear them ever westward are freighted with more Elysian odors than any which ever swept over Calypso's island. Every mile westward is so much a joy that it seems heavenward as well as havenward. We welcome all except the anarchist and the criminal. The American people welcome the Irishman because he is a man. The average politician welcomes him because he has a vote. The nation's real conscience also bids the Chinaman welcome, and simply because he is our brother. Pallisy, thou sayst truly:

> "Turn, turn my wheel! The human race,
> Of every tongue, of every place,
> Caucasian, Coptic or Malay,
> All that inhabit this great earth,
> Whatever be their rank or worth,
> Are kindred and allied by birth,
> And made of the same clay."

Here, under the dome of that Capitol, we solemnly prohibited the Chinaman landing in our midst. The Chinaman ought to be as free to land anywhere on our shores as the American missionary is, to-day, to step ashore on every foot of the 2,500 miles of the Chinese coast.

Out of 100 persons in—

New York,	80	are	foreign-born,	or	children of	foreign-born parents.
Philadelphia,	51	"	"	"	"	"
Brooklyn,	67	"	"	"	"	"
Chicago,	87	"	"	"	"	"
Boston,	63	"	"	"	"	"
St. Louis,	78	"	"	"	"	"
Baltimore,	35	"	"	"	"	"
Cincinnati,	60	"	"	"	"	"
San Francisco,	78	"	"	"	"	"
New Orleans,	51	"	"	"	"	"
Cleveland,	80	"	"	"	"	"
Pittsburg,	61	"	"	"	"	"
Buffalo,	71	"	"	"	"	"

Washington,	25	are	foreign-born,	or	children	of foreign-born parents.
Newark,	63	"	"	"	"	"
Louisville,	53	"	"	"	"	"
Jersey City,	70	"	"	"	"	"
Detroit,	84	"	"	"	"	"
Milwaukee,	84	"	"	"	"	"
Providence,	52	"	"	"	"	"

We have, then, this astounding showing: That out of twenty of our largest cities as far west as the Missouri River, in eighteen of them the majority of the population consists either of foreigners or the children of foreigners.

Many of these people come to America with not a syllable of the English language. They land at Castle Garden, and start out in the American world with nothing but a foreign speech, a sandwich in the hand, a pack on the back, and several children trailing after them. They cluster in the cities and towns. To win the immigrant to Christ, we need to speak to him in his own language. He should be able, so soon as he lands, to find a church in whatever tongue is native to him. His mind is receptive. He is ready to grasp the friendly hand. Not an hour should elapse before he finds a spiritual guide who can address him in his own speech, furnish him Christian books or journals in the only language he knows, speed him on his way if he drifts westward, and commend him to others who speak the same language in the place of his destination. What is the case to-day? Socialistic and nihilistic literature is thrust into the immigrant's hands in his own language, as he walks from the gangway at Castle Garden. He is invited to midnight socialistic meetings. His first lessons are lawlessness to the Government and disloyalty to the King of kings. He soon becomes a part of the wretched mass who want a shorter path to comfort and property than labor. Every man's home he claims to be his home. The average immigrant, speaking a Continental tongue, is a truly pitiable object. The first appeals to him are as bad as he ever heard amid the despotisms of his old Europe. Who is the anarchist? He who believes that his worst enemy is the man who owns a house, that dynamite is the best and only gospel, and that the best future is none at all. What becomes of the children of these immigrants of foreign speech? They are the waifs over our reeking sea of poverty, filth, ignorance and anarchy. They soon acquire our English language, but without

the safeguards of our Anglo-Saxon Christianity. They swell the numbers of our criminal classes. The whole of this second generation of immigrants would become powerful factors in our national and Christian development, if the American Church would meet the immigrant, on his arrival, with a Christian welcome and spiritual privileges. Between the upper millstone of our neglect to meet the immigrant, on his arrival, with the gospel in his own mother-tongue, and the nether millstone of a criminal neglect of his children, we grind out the anarchist.

IS THE CHURCH THE RICH MAN'S PRAYING-MACHINE?

The typical wage-earner is taught, by the apostles of dynamite and free land, that the man who lives in his own house and has enough to support himself without manual labor is his bitter foe. He works for that man. He sees his plenty. He knows where he lives. He has struck for higher wages many a time, and only secured them by a threat. The wage-earner despises the employer. He keeps away from the church, and calls it the rich man's club-house. Would not a larger and more consecrated interest in the spiritual improvement of the unevangelized by employers, in a single decade scatter this delusion to the winds?

SABBATH DESECRATION A POWERFUL ALIENATING FACTOR.

The immigrant from the Continent brings no Sabbath with him. He finds a congenial atmosphere so soon as he arrives, in the desecration of a home-made origin. All the skeptical and godless forces in America combine in persistent effort to blot out the Sabbath from our fair escutcheon. They call it in derision the "Puritan Sabbath," and establish a Personal Liberty League to attack it. Poor, indeed, is their calculation. The British reformers halted over a century before they would accept the Reformation without the Sabbath. They only took it at last, by great and bloody struggles, with the Christian Sabbath, in all its firmness and beauty. They will never surrender it. By a stricter legislation, by a stronger police oversight, by a surer punishment of offenders, our American Sabbath can be, and ought to be, as beautiful a possession as it was to the founders of James River Colony, in 1607, and more especially to the Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony, in 1620, when they forgot the bleakness of their first Sabbath on the American shore, in the

loud volume of praise and adoration to the God who had delivered them from the tempest of foreign despotism and ceaseless storms of their voyage across the seas.

THE CURSE OF THE SALOON.

The sale and use of intoxicating beverages is also a most potent force in separating the masses from sympathy with the gospel. No man who habitually uses the cup of intoxication can be a sympathetic and devout worshiper in a Christian sanctuary. The wine-glass is an opaque affair, and God cannot be seen through it. With the demon of the appetite within a man, he loves the saloon, and such company as frequent it, better than he loves the church. His argument runs thus: "In the saloon there is more freedom of a certain kind. The speech, such as it is, is plainer. The society is hilarious. One man does not do all the talking. No church debt is to be paid. Possibly the saloon will eventually be closed on the Sabbath. But, in any event, there will be a side door yet a while. When that is closed, there will be a back door. When that is gone, who knows but there will be a subterranean passage to the wine cup and the decanter?" The day is sure to come—we see the twilight now—when the saloon will be so deep that no pick and spade, of even a Schliemann, shall be able to exhume it. The saloon—that venerable structure of the alcoholic style of architecture—is already taking on the look of a useless antique of the palæolithic age.

Take away from the indifferent and sinful masses all the poor whom the intoxicating cup has made poor, all the children whom it has orphaned, all the sorrowing women whom it has converted into "Niobes, all tears," all the vagrants whom it has stripped of home and bread and bed, all the anarchists whose brain it has set seething and spinning with pictures of the glory of owning nothing and obeying no man, and you will need the lamp of Diogenes to find the few individuals who will be left in alienation from the Christian church. Let the saloon once take its departure from the American soil, and there will be such a destruction of the separating forces of our polyglot population, such a clearing up of the misty atmosphere which leads the employer and the wage-earner to believe that each is the other's foe, such an appreciation by the unevangelized of the beauty and force of Christianity, such a flowing of the multitude into the Christian churches, that the treasury of

every church in the land will be overstrained, to provide even temporary places of worship for the millions who are controlled and absorbed by a new affection. In due time, when once the saloon is gone, and the new currents of beneficence are in full flow, there will be enough gold and vital energy released from bondage to the worm of the still to establish enough churches for all our population, to plant missions on the farthest shores of the farthest seas, and to put the Bible into every hand, in the language of the place, from the rising to the setting sun.

THE ESTRANGEMENT OF THE MASSES NOT A PERMANENT EVIL.

But that happy day of deliverance is not yet here. Perhaps the bright dawn will be upon us by the time the bells ring out the nineteenth century and ring in the twentieth. Meanwhile, we must confront the fact of the disproportion between those who worship with us, and pray and labor for the enlargement of our Lord's kingdom on earth, and the vast multitude who never enter our churches or care for their larger usefulness.

CHURCHES MUST STAY AMONG THE POOR.

The drift of the city churches is always toward the cleaner, less packed, and less commercial parts of the city. All through this century the attraction in New York has been northward. When the strong church moves away, a weak one is left behind. It seems to need but little care. A scanty allowance is left for it. So much is needed for the new church elsewhere, and it must be so fine, that the old church soon becomes a mere skeleton. Little the people think that for the power to build the new the obligation is due to the old! America is the only country on earth where the city church possesses the monstrosity of a frequent, flitting day.

In Rome it is never thought of, that, because St. Peter's has to be reached by a bridge, and to reach the bridge one must go through dark and filthy streets, therefore St. Peter's must not be thought of as a sanctuary. The mere fact that it is St. Peter's makes it an attraction. In Vienna, St. Stephen's is in the midst of darker and more repellant streets; yet it is never urged against it that it is too far down town, and not in the West End. In Berlin and in Paris the same rule applies. St. Paul's, in London, is surrounded still, as centuries ago, by small shops, while the city stages and cabs run around it, and make a perpetual din on every side.

Yet people go from palace and noble residence far away to get to that beautiful temple. St. Margaret's and Westminster are by no means in the midst of fine residences. Yet all these places are visited by the people of every class. Why should we cry that the churches must follow the people? Who are the people? They do not consist merely of a few. They are also to be found in cellars and garrets, and in the midst of the busiest marts of our cities. Wherever the people are, in our close-packed cities or in our far Western regions, let the plain chapel exist for them. Let no score or hundred be forgotten, but let God's house be built for all alike, and let the poor man feel that this is his home, and his children's home, and the stranger's home.

THE ABSOLUTE NEED OF INDIVIDUAL EFFORT.

These are the days, and America is the paradise, of doing all things—or pretending to do them—by the omnipotent committee. The links, and not the impersonal chain, hold the anchor. True, there must be an organization, compact, broad of scope, wise as to methods and men. But that is the most efficient organization which makes most effective use of the individual force. The crown and glory of all true union is for the unit to do its best. The only way to melt the wall of ice between the masses and the Church is for every individual Christian to kindle a fire at its base. Our Lord's example furnishes a practical lesson on the way to deal with the masses. He always fed the hungry multitudes by individual servitors. The most of his parables and precious words were spoken in connection with the casual interlocutor. If the Christian church observed as much system in its evangelistic methods, in reaching the one house and the one person, as our shrewd politicians do in their methods of reaching the one voter, there would not be a stratum of society which would not soon be reached by the message of the truth.

THE NEED OF WOMAN'S WORK.

The whole Christian world now admits that, for work among heathen, women are absolutely necessary. Take the Zenana work from the missionary forces of Protestantism, and a most potent factor is at once cut off. Women are needed at this day and in this land, to aid in the solution of every evil which is upon us. Protestantism has yet to learn from Romanism the full

lesson of woman's worth and force in the church. The Italian masses are learning the gospel through her as a reader. The ministry of McAll would have lacked one of its greatest charms and most forceful agencies had Mrs. McAll not given her aid. Hundreds of Christian women came to her assistance in trying to rescue the homes of the Parisian *ouvriers*.

Where would the great temperance movement in this land be to-day, but for the might and faith and tears and eloquence of women? If we would reach the masses, we must invoke the aid of women such as Sister Dora or Florence Nightingale, or Oclana Hill, the angel of the world's improved lodging house. If we want teaching in the home, tender care of the suffering, wise measures for brightening every slum into a Tabor of the Divine Presence, for searching for the unreached and the unknown, let us say to the multitude of Christian women in our land: "We have kept you back too long from this white harvest-field. In God's name, go; nay, come with us, and help us save the wandering millions."

MORE LAY HELP FOR THE PASTORS.

The general understanding is, that the pastor of a church is the provider of the spiritual food for the entire church. But few pastors are sufficient for the great needs of a large parish. While the Rev. Henry Fairbanks has shown that even in the country not one-half the people attend any church, the great disproportion, after all, is in the cities. Lying off, too remote to touch the hem of the robe of the city church, are the helpless thousands. No pastor can reach them. His pulpit demands nearly all his time, and only in the most general way can he reach the outlying multitudes. Now, there are Christian laymen who can take part of their time—and some can be found to take all their time—in visiting every neglected precinct and home, and in bringing the gospel to every heart. Our forces are too scattered. Many a city pastor needs twenty men and women to make his ministry effectual to any people whom God has placed in dependence on him.

Were every large city church to utilize the stagnant and dormant forces which it could command, every wilderness would blossom as the rose.

THE ESTRANGEMENT OF THE MASSES NOT A NOVELTY.

It must be remembered that the outstanding masses, with sus-

picion toward the church, if not hostility to it, present no new phenomenon. The church of Christ, in its most exalted hours, has never been afraid to be in the minority. At no time has it felt the force of the sympathy and strength of the most of the people. It seems a threatening evil now; but that is only because we have turned our eyes towards it, and see, as never before, the overwhelming danger. In the time of the Reformation, it was always the few against the many. In all seasons of revival, after the great ingatherings, it was still only the units against the thousands. There is no ground for present discouragement. They that be for us are more than can be against us. What is the church for? Is it to drift along gently, and land in a welcoming harbor without struggle with tide and tempest? Christianity, like every great historical movement, has won its way to triumph, security and beneficence, by passing through terrible ordeals. The birth of Minerva from the brain of Jove, full-grown and heavily armed, when she lifted her spear and spoke her first word, was a beautiful dream of the early Greek. But the church of Christ must develop by slow and severe process. It reaches its rest by sweat of brow and twelve long hours of burning toil. Nothing strong in truth or magnificent in possession has ever come to the church by falling, as ripe fruit, into its open hand. All the treasures of God's kingdom on earth have been won like pearls from the depths of the ocean, and gold from the white-heated furnace. The birthplace of the church was at the foot of a cross. It gained its youthful fiber and muscle by the strain of three centuries of flame and torture. Since then, few have been the years when some new burden has not been placed upon it. If the great multitudes swarm on every side of it, without entering it, some speaking foreign tongues, and all without sympathy with the holy institutions of the church, let us remember that this is no novel picture. We must recognize the divine factor. God is always on the side of his kingdom and the men who love it.

LARGER FAITH THE SUPREME DUTY OF THE HOUR.

The American church is getting into the firm conviction that the heathen world will be won to Christ. But when shall we be convinced that the Christian world will be won to Christ? We must close God's Word, and lay it aside, or else, with its open pages before us, we must labor on in the full faith that the church of

Christ will conquer in the end. Many of the parables of Christ reveal the fact that with the few who believe and work lies the certain victory. The woman's leaven was small indeed, but it had power to leaven the whole mass. The grain of mustard seed was infinitesimal, but it grew to be the largest of all trees. All the antagonistic forces had no power to resist its growth and spreading branches. The sower let fall his seeds in unfavorable places, but there were some which produced a harvest of thirty, sixty and a hundred fold. The glory of the weak is that before them God has placed his greatest promises. The handful of corn on the top of the mountain produced a forest which shook like Lebanon. The stone which the builders rejected became the chief corner-stone. "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen; yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are." Shall the presence of vast unevangelized multitudes alarm us? Shall their hostility to our holy faith cause us to tremble with dread? No. The whole world was against Paul when, standing before Felix, he reasoned of righteousness, temperance and judgment to come. Yet it was not the prisoner Paul, standing in the minority, but Felix the ruler, who stood with the majority, who was alarmed, and trembled in every fold of his purple robe.

Our spiritual adversaries, who endeavor to hold the multitudes in bondage, are not equal to the spiritual forces of Him who holds the nations in his palm, and who has been saying, and to-day still says, of all his heroic servants, "One shall chase a thousand, and two shall put ten thousand to flight."

ESTRANGEMENT OF THE MASSES FROM THE CHURCH.

BY REV. ARTHUR T. PIERSON, D. D., OF PHILADELPHIA.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The questions that are before us are of magnificent importance. It is utterly impossible, however, in thirty minutes, to go about a vast continent of thought like this. Let us rather choose a limited district and confine our present observations to that district. I shall speak for a few moments with regard to the estrangement of the masses in the great cities from the church, and show both the social and the ecclesiastical factors which enter into the problem.

Whatever the logic of events has proven needs not the demonstration of argument. We may assume, this afternoon, as beyond dispute or denial, that the masses in our great cities *are* estranged from the church ; and we may assume a second fact, that, however justly or unjustly, the church of Christ is identified, not to say associated, with the higher classes, in the eyes of the lower classes. And hence in discussing alienation from the church, we have to discuss the alienation between the classes in society.

Now, I wish to say, beloved, that society is a pyramid, broadest at the base. Daniel Webster said that there is always room at the top ; but that is just where there is not room. There is plenty of room at the bottom. And upon the solidity of the base of the pyramid depends everything that lies above the base ; and, therefore, the pre-eminent duty and privilege of the Christian church is to reach, and if necessary, re-construct, the pyramidal base of society. And when we speak of the masses, we mean no invidious term; we mean to use no term that seems to tend in the direction of materialism. We heartily believe, with Sir William Hamilton, that there is only one thing on earth that is great, and that is man, and only one thing in man that is great, and that is his soul. But mass is a term used to indicate quantity

in which individuality is lost, and that is what we mean by the masses—the multitude in which the individual ceases to be prominent. We lose individuality in multitude.

Now the masses *are* estranged from the church of God. Shaftesbury said, at the anniversary of the Open-air Mission in Islington, that not more than two per cent of the English workingmen attend any place of worship, Papal or Protestant ; and if we take fifty of our great cities in this country as a type of all the rest, it is a well-known fact that from two-fifths to three-fifths only of the population have any connection whatever with a place of worship, and that, if we come down to the average attendance, less than one-fifth of the population of these great cities is actually connected with the worship of God in any form. These are formidable facts, and we ought at once to understand them and study the causes and the cure.

Now, looking back for a moment to the social questions which underlie the ecclesiastical, let me call your attention to certain very prominent and very important facts. We talk a great deal about the centralization of which cities are at once the type and the expression. But, dear friends, remember that while there is a centripetal force in operation, there is a centrifugal force that is operating at the same time. If you take an electrograph, and, from a vessel in which you place various substances sift them upon the surface of the electrograph, you will find that according to their affinities they will follow the various lines of the current on the surface of the electrograph and range themselves at opposite points, in accordance with these electrical affinities. Now, somewhat such a fact shall we see, if we look in the great cities. There is at once an aggregation and a segregation. There is a massing of the population in these great metropolitan centers, and then there is a separation of the classes in the midst of the great cities. And you may see how this operates.

In the first place, there is no community of labor, properly so called, between the higher and lower classes. One works more with brain, and the other more with brawn. The work to which the ordinary artisan is put is oftentimes in its nature partially menial, sometimes drudgery, and sometimes even encumbered with dangerous exposure. And these working classes feel that the higher classes are not upon the common plane of labor, of toil, of exposure, with themselves.

Then the homes of the two naturally separate. The home of the workingman is small, narrow, contracted, and without sufficient sanitary conditions—light, air, space, warmth and other things. So that the tendency of the rich and the well-to-do is directly away from the homes of the poor. In cities where formerly rich and poor comparatively dwelt together, we are coming to have poor districts—districts in which none but the poor live—the east end and the west end, the up-town and down-town, in our great cities.

And then, again, the habits of life are different. Cleanliness, all things that pertain not only to sanitary, but even moral regulations, are comparatively disregarded in the homes of the poor. The overcrowding in our great cities makes impossible not only refinement, but even decency, in the districts where the poor live. I made a recent investigation in the city of New York myself. I went into one room, not more than ten by twelve feet, in which there were eighteen people, men and women and children, that ate and lived and slept in that room. And they were not only men and women, but they were blacks and whites, gathered together in the same apartment. And you that have read Mr. Loomis's marvelous book on modern cities, will have seen another illustration of this great overcrowding. And in nothing was it revealed to me as in "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London"—that startling little tract.

Then, again, the mental habits of the two are diverse. Ignorance is connected with the simple struggle for existence, the daily struggle for bread; and so the poor grow up comparatively without knowledge; and superstition is the child of ignorance.

And, then, moral habits. The workingman, oppressed by poverty, and in an hour of penury, is often tempted into the saloon from the uncomfortable quarters of his own home; into the gilded gateways of vice in the company of his companions. Poverty tempts to theft, and even to the sale of virtue as a purchasable commodity.

And so, from these, and, may be, other things that might be spoken of in social life, there is a constant divergency between the higher and lower classes. They live apart, they toil apart, they think apart, and they have no sympathies in common. And so it has come to pass in our great cities, that what was once only a district in which the poor dwelt, is becoming a slum, in which now there is not only a different class of people from those who inhabit the higher walks of life, but there is coming to be in these

slums the code of moral laws and the code of honor, the mental and moral habits, and even the vocabulary and dialect, that are especially appropriated by these slums; until it comes to pass, as in the case of George W. Walker, when he visited the penal settlements on Norfolk Island, that we find the utter subversion of the human heart indicated by the utter subversion of language, until a man comes to be known as a good man in proportion as he is given to all iniquity, or a bad man in proportion as he even listens to the remonstrances of his own conscience.

Meanwhile, in this entire lack of sympathy between rich and poor, the higher and the lower classes, there comes to be a feeling, however unjust, on the part of the workingman, that the higher classes are entirely oblivious of his interests, and indifferent to his needs. He feels as though the heartless greed of the rich man and the capitalist were seeking to get the largest amount of product out of his labor, at the smallest amount of cost. He feels, also, that even in the struggles that are made in the direction of reform, the great mass of the higher classes of people look not only with indifference, but with opposition, upon all endeavors to elevate his condition. And we cannot altogether blame the lower classes of society for this prejudice against the richer and higher classes, when we remember that the Earl of Shaftesbury himself, awakened by the fact of these outrages that were existing in society, kept working fifty years in the Parliament and before the people of England, to secure certain reformatory measures, and found that he was met not only with opposition, but with positive antipathy, and even by such men as John Bright and Richard Cobden and the Archbishop of Canterbury and William E. Gladstone—men that it might have been expected would have spontaneously and instantly advocated all reforms of such outrages as the Earl of Shaftesbury exposed. Just think of it, dear friends—the idea of little children being sent up smoking and burning flues, naked, and being compelled to move up the flue by applying burning wisps to their naked feet! Just think of poor women being obliged, in the ordinary routine of toil, to walk every day from seventeen to twenty-seven miles in the factory! Just think of all the enormities exposed in connection with mills and mines and insane hospitals! And yet think of that glorious man, the Earl of Shaftesbury, being obliged to fight, as I have said, for half a century, in order to bring to pass these great reforms! Do you wonder at the alienation between the lower and

higher classes of society when they see these things going on before their eyes?

Not only so; but these are tremendous questions. I said to my friend who is presiding over this assembly, that I did not believe that a more important assembly had met since the Council in Jerusalem. When I look abroad over this assembly to-day, it reminds me of the Council of Nice—at which I was not present, however—when the veterans from the battle-fields all over the world came up, scarred and maimed, as the witnesses for Jesus Christ, to testify to his true deity. But we, reverently speaking, are discussing questions that have a wider bearing on the needs of the human race, than perhaps even the questions discussed at the Council of Nice; for we are talking about an applied Christianity in the crisis of affairs in the greatest of modern or ancient republics; Christianity applied to the greatest social problems. And, my friends, we must remember that these questions must be settled, and settled soon. We are not only verging on a crisis, but we are in the crisis. The fact is that Society has long stood by, while Labor, blinded and bound, has gone the rounds grinding in the mill of capital.

But, my friends, it is also to be noted that, while wealth has been multiplied and monopolized, learning, not to say knowledge, has been multiplied and popularized, as Dr. Strong has magnificently said. And now it comes to pass that this blinded Samson finds his locks growing and (marvel of marvels!) the eyes of his understanding being enlightened; and if Society is not careful, he will get his great arms round the pillars of the commonwealth, and bring the whole fabric down in ruin.

We cannot afford to neglect the condition of the common people, for the condition of the common people is the condition of the commonwealth. Society has a way of avenging herself for the wrongs committed on the lowest of all her members. Robert Peel gave his daughter a magnificent riding habit on her nineteenth birthday, and attired in the embroidered gown, she rode side by side with him in the parks of London. She had scarcely returned home before she was taken ill with the most malignant form of typhus fever, and in ten days was laid to rest in the churchyard. And the secret is a very simple one. The poor seamstress in a garret in one of the slums, while she was embroidering that garment, looked upon a husband shivering in the paroxysm of

chills, and she took the half-finished garment and laid it over him; and the garment took up the germs of fever, and conveyed them from the hovel of the poorest to the palace of the peer.

And so, beloved friends, we are bound together in one bundle of social life; and if we neglect the poorest and the lowest, Society will avenge herself in the destruction of the highest and the richest, and the most cultivated.

Now, will you allow me to approach, strictly speaking, the ecclesiastical side of this subject? And, I beg you, take what I say, not as the result of any impulse, but of the most profound and solemn conviction. And if I say anything that does not commend itself to your judgment, at least give me the credit of being perfectly candid and outspoken.

Whatever may be the causes, the church of Jesus Christ is, in the eyes of the working classes, inseparably linked with the aristocracy, both in England and America. And I cannot wonder that it is so.

In the first place, look at the location of our churches. Just as soon as a district becomes known as a poor district, the churches move out. They follow the lines of wealth and culture, and go to the West End and build their magnificent cathedrals, while the poor classes are left without any churches, or, as it seems to me, what is about as bad, with churches that are specifically and professedly only for the poor. I doubt very much the charity that makes a school for poor children, and calls it a "ragged school;" and I doubt very much the charity that builds a million dollar church, and then establishes thousand dollar chapels, and calls them "mission chapels for the poor."

And then I want you to notice how the workingman views the costliness of our modern church establishments. He sees that here is a building that costs from $100,000 to $1,000,000; that here is a minister that costs from $1,000 to $20,000 a year; that here is a choir that costs from $1,500 to $5,000; here is a sexton and collector that cost, perhaps, from $500 to $2,500 a year; and then he sees the decoration of a mortgage on the church building, which implies annual payments of interest. In other words, he sees that the church is a Pullman palace car, or, rather, that it is an express train, limited, composed exclusively of Pullman palace cars; and he knows perfectly well that he is not expected there, nor wanted there, and you and I know just the

same thing. We talk a great deal about the pride of poverty. I would like to know whether it is wholly an ignoble instinct, when a man does not wish to intrude himself into the pew of another man in a costly church establishment in which he cannot bear his proportion of the church expenses. If you were a poor workman, you would feel the same way.

And then, again, I want to call attention to the caste spirit that prevails in our modern churches. I might have called it the *casteliness* of the modern churches. When God erected the church in this world, he meant that, for the first time in human history, there should be an ideal state, in which the fatherhood of God should be recognized as universal, and the brotherhood of man should be recognized as universal; in which there should be no barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, male nor female, but all one in Christ Jesus. But what do we see? If James were living to-day, and had written the second chapter of his Epistle as an address to the modern church establishments, the satire could not have been more caustic than it is: "If there come into your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and thou say unto him, 'Sit thou there in a good place;' and there come in a poor man in vile raiment, and thou say unto him, 'Stand thou there,' or, 'Sit here under my footstool'"—that means, I suppose, in the front seat, which is right before the minister, and is not desired by anybody—I say, if the Apostle James had written that very Epistle to modern churches, the satire could not have been more caustic and pertinent.

The simple fact is (and we know it) that the communion of saintliness is displaced by the communion of respectability. Our churches are becoming the quarters of a monopoly, and the workingman sees it and feels it. And it has come to be a fact that I, as a Christian minister, no longer propose to deny or dispute. There is no real democracy in the church of Jesus Christ in this day, with a few startling and glorious exceptions. There is, in some cases, an oligarchy—the rule of a few; in some cases a plutocracy—the rule of the rich; in some cases an aristocracy, at the best—the rule of the cultured and really higher classes; but, in very few instances, a true Christian democracy, such as Jesus Christ meant the church of God to be.

Now, beloved, go a little further with me, if you please. I believe that the abolishment of the parish system in our churches is one of

the greatest calamities that has befallen the churches. The time was when, because there were not so many facilities for travel as there are now, by horse-cars and steam-cars, people, if they went to church at all, went to church in their own vicinity, just as God always meant they should. The consequence was, that every church had, more or less accurately defined, its own parishional limits; it looked to those around it for its constituency; the pastor visited those about it as his proper parish; and the consequence was that the people in the vicinity of a church felt that that church was there for them, and that they were expected to maintain and support it, and they did. The whole beauty of that territorial system of Thomas Chalmers, which is the greatest practical solution that has ever been given to this practical question in modern times, was based upon the system of the parish. But now, from the introduction of our horse-cars and steam-cars running on Sunday, it follows that there is no longer a parish church; it is a congregation gathered from the ends of the earth, and they come together to hear a certain man, and there is no longer any care of the district in which the church is located.

And then, moreover, let me say that in my judgment the present pew system is the most monstrous barrier that has ever been erected between the churches and the common people. [Applause.] If a church building is consecrated to Almighty God and is his, I would like to ask, in the name of religion and common sense, what right any man has to a certain topographical district in that building which he can fence off and say, "That is my property." It is a monstrous notion. There is no foundation for it in Old Testament or in New Testament. It may be equitable enough as a business basis, but it is utterly inexpedient as the basis for reaching the masses of the people with the word of life. A man has no more right to intrude into a pew that is owned or rented by another man, than he has to intrude into the house that is owned or rented by another man. And if the principle of proprietorship in the house of God is right, then you cannot wonder at the feeling of the workingman, that he is excluded unless he can afford to pay for or buy a pew.

Moreover, I want you to notice that this proprietorship in the house of God prevents the promiscuous use of the house of God for all those purposes of popular and social entertainment and amusement which may become the handmaids, properly restricted, of the Gospel in reaching the common people.

The Providence of God has thrown me into contact, in the last few years, with a church for the people, that I went to because it was a church for the people. From the time the fires are lighted on the first of October, till they go out on the first of May, that building is open from Monday night to Saturday night, for everything which, in the way of secular instruction, entertainment, amusement and uplifting, can draw the people. We have 1,800 church members, and from four to five thousand people pass in and out from Sunday to Sunday. It is a church of the people, and that is the only thing that in my eyes makes it a specially attractive field. But I say to you, beloved, that as long as the pew system obtains in our churches, I don't see how you are ever going to have the poor man feel absolutely at home in what we call the house of the Lord.

Now a few words, if my time allows, on the cure of the evil, so far as the cure has not already been suggested.

In the first place, there must be contact, and it must be sympathetic contact. A kid glove is a non-conductor. It will not answer to come into contact with the people, unless you come into contact with them on their own plane. I can mention a man to-day who is conducting a colossal business, and who is a man of great wealth, and yet in a church for the people and of the people, he is absolutely on a plane with every other man, and you would never know that he owns a dollar, from anything in his manner, mien, dress or habits, to proclaim a man of wealth or the conductor of a colossal business. It is one thing for a man to build a chapel for the poor, and a very different thing to put himself in the midst of the enterprise and go there on a level with the poor man. [Great applause.] And every poor man knows the difference; and all your theological observations and distinctions, and all your popular orations, won't change the conception of the thing that is born in the intuitions of his own moral nature.

When McAll went to Paris (and he has been eloquently referred to) and began that work in Belleville, the very source of anarchy and violence in the mob of Paris, he began, knowing only two sentences in the French tongue. One was, "God loves you," and the other was, "I love you." But on those two sentences, as on the opposing pillars of a magnificent arch, he built the greatest mission work of modern times. And I care not about the alienation of the people from the church of God, if you will give me one

man like the Earl of Shaftesbury, that goes among the costermongers and buys himself a donkey and a barrow, and then puts his arms on the barrow and lends it to the poor costermongers to carry their wares through the streets, and puts himself on a level with the poorest, and puts off everything that will prevent his carrying out the glorious mission of his life—give me one man like the Earl of Shaftesbury, and I will show you one man that in his individuality and personality can offset the antagonistic influences of fifty churches in persuading the poor man that there is something in a true Christianity that is in sympathy with his poverty and misery, and intends and is constantly striving to uplift him nearer to God and heaven.

1. We need a *cordial* church atmosphere. The church has a fourfold mission: as a place of worship and work, a school and a home. The stream that runs through the church on the week day will naturally run there on Sunday.

2. We need *free churches.* Romanism builds splendid cathedrals, but all go in alike, prince or peasant. All should enter the house of God on a sovereign level of *equality.*

3. We must put emphasis on *the democracy* of Christ's church. Chalmers was marked by utter absence of all the caste spirit. He said the clergy were in danger of dying from dignity. The power of Mohammedan Propaganda lies in the ability to say to lowest Hottentot, "If you pronounce the formula of Islam, come up and sit beside me." Terence said, "I am a man, and nothing human is foreign to me."

4. We must have faith in the gospel preached in a *gospel spirit.* Christ reached the common people, even publicans and harlots. The conception of "The *Lamia*" was the apex of human philosophy; virtue repelling vice. Christ has taught us that true piety is like light, itself incapable of contamination, but carrying a blessing, even to the marsh and pool.

In the second place, we must have cordiality. We must have a certain atmosphere (and no other word can express it) in the church of God that produces the impression upon those who come in that no invidious distinction is there made, but that all believers are on an equality before Almighty God. I hold that the church of the New Testament sustains a fourfold relation to the community. In the first place, it is a place for worship. In the second place, it is a place for work. In the third place, it is a school for

instruction. And in the fourth place, it is a home for every sin-sick and lost soul. [Applause.] Give us, in the churches of God, the worship of God and not that of the architect; the convenience of the audience and not their inconvenience; give us in the church of God the character of a thorough home for all men and all women and all children, in the name of God; and you will soon cure the alienation of the masses from the church of God.

And then, moreover, we must emphasize this idea that I have spoken of, the democracy of the Christian church. What is the great source of the great power of the Mohammedan Propaganda in Africa to-day? The cultivated African goes down among the Hottentots and says, "If you pronounce the sacred formula of Islam, 'There is no god but God, and Mohammed is his Prophet,' come up and sit by me; take my daughter for your wife and give your daughter to my son for his wife: for all who acknowledge allegiance to no one but God, and to no prophet but Mohammed, are on an absolute and sovereign level of equality in this world and in the next." Even our Christian missionaries cannot say to the East Indians, with their rigid system of caste, or to the Sandwich Islanders, when they were under the tyranny of the Taboo system, or to the Africans, with their caste laws even on the Dark Continent, what the Mohammedan Propagandist can say. He can offer them fraternity in the next world, but he cannot offer them anything but the shadow of fraternity in this world. [Laughter.]

And now, dear friends, your patience is exhausted and my time is very nearly exhausted; but I want to say that we want more confidence, in this great matter, in the power of a simple, earnest, vital Christianity. I want you to observe that the highest philosophy of the Greek with reference to the relations of virtue and vice, found its expression in the fable of the Lamia. You know the Lamia was a curious beast in the form of a serpent, that had the power to assume a human form in order to suck the blood of unwary youths. And when the Lamia came in contact with a philosopher, who was to the Greek the embodiment of the highest purity and virtue, we are told that the Lamia began to shrink and cringe until she dissolved into the loathsome reptile that she was by nature. That was the Greek idea of virtue, that it repulsed vice.

But Jesus Christ shows us a nobler ideal of virtue, of which the Greek never dreamed. It is a virtue that attracts vice; that is

to say, that cannot be contaminated by the touch of iniquity, and yet draws even publicans and sinners toward itself for healing and moral and spiritual improvement. And when we have confidence in this gospel of the New Testament, in the universal fatherhood of grace and the universal brotherhood of love, when we give up our costly fashions and are willing to live in a simple way, when we feel our identification with the poorest and the lowest and the most desperately lost, and get down on a level with them that we may lift them, then, my friends, and not till then, shall we see the alienation of the masses of the people from the church bridged over in a sovereign equality between all believers.

EVENING SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 7.

The devotional exercises were conducted by Bishop A. A. Reinke, D. D., of New York, after which Hon. A. H. Colquitt, of Georgia, one of the Vice Presidents of the Alliance, was introduced as the presiding officer of the evening.

REMARKS BY SENATOR COLQUITT.

My Brethren and Friends: I accepted with pleasure the compliment of an invitation to preside this evening. I accepted it the more readily, because I supposed that it was a position of honor without any responsibility. [Laughter.] My conception of a chairman or presiding officer of a meeting was, that he was to sit composedly, to look grave, to preside with dignity, to introduce the speakers, and to congratulate them when they were through. [Laughter.]

I am abashed to be informed by my friend, the President of this Alliance (Mr. Dodge), that it will be expected that a word or two should be said by the presiding officer. I am abashed because I know that I stand in the presence of men of learning and of eloquence, and that I cannot trust myself to the current of unpremeditated thought. I cannot forget that even this very stand is yet warm and throbbing with the tones that echoed through these halls to-day. If I were to say a word, it would be to bid you God-speed in this noble, this fraternal work. [Applause.] I believe that the day has come when the workers for humanity, when the lovers of God, when patriots and Christians, should ally themselves against the already allied forces of sin, iniquity, and of the powers beneath. [Applause.] It is a small matter that we, brethren of

the different denominations, should quarrel with each other about our orthodoxy. It is a very small matter that they, who are the ministers of the gospel, should stand up in the presence of the country and discuss homiletics and evolution, and all that—it is a small matter compared with what we know to exist in this land of ours, this land that we have known to be the land of the patriot, to be talking on these abstract and abstruse questions, when we have been confronted with such thought, action and principles as are avowed on our thoroughfares every day that we live. It may be that I am not orthodox when I say that I believe it is the mission to-day of the ministers, and of Christian laymen in this land, to go out into the fields and highways, and meet the enemies that are seeking to place a barrier in the way of Christian civilization—to meet the foe as he comes.

I like to hear learned sermons and magnificent discourses—appeals purely to the intellect—abstract and abstruse ideas, and all that. That is all very interesting. But looking at the masses of mankind, and reviewing, from the standpoint which I occupy, what are the conflicting emotions of society to-day, it is clear to me that there is a mission given to every lover of Christ, to stand forth as the propagator of that religion which tempers the politics and statesmanship of this country.

I sometimes hear it said that ministers ought to occupy their places in the pulpit, and that they have nothing to do with public questions; that "religion is one thing, and politics another." I do not believe a word of it. [Applause.] Church and state, in a political sense, is not to be thought of for a moment; but religion and politics ought to be wedded like a loving pair. [Applause.] The breath of the Divine should fill the sails of our commerce. The spirit of our Master, who preached peace, should preside at our diplomatic councils. The love of our neighbor and of our friend—these should be the bases, not only of our Christianity and of our patriotism, but of our daily politics.

With these very general utterances, and not intending to enter on any discussion, I proceed now to assume the very grave duty of presiding over this magnificent assembly of good men and women.

ULTRAMONTANISM.

BY BISHOP A. CLEVELAND COXE, D. D., LL. D., OF BUFFALO.

Sincerely do I congratulate myself that the subject on which I am asked to speak enables me to do so, without any reflection upon the Roman Catholic religion. From Roman Catholics themselves we borrow this word, "Ultramontanism," to express something which for ages they have refused to accept or to identify with their faith. They reject it as a false theory of their relations with the Roman pontiff. In exposing its absolute antagonism to everything American, I shall have no occasion, therefore, to borrow any thoughts from Protestants. I shall say nothing which has not been said by the most eminent of the French divines, by their most learned jurists and canonists; by such as Bossuet, in the prelacy; by L'Hôpital and D'Aguesseau, among learned laymen; by the Dupins and the Fleurys, among church historians and essayists; by the learned Père Pithou, and by that pure and patriotic king, that heroic crusader, "St. Louis" himself. In fact, were I a patriotic Roman Catholic bishop in America, I should fearlessly assume the positions I support to-day, and should labor to impress upon my people, and upon my brethren in the Episcopate, the great fact that Gallicanism furnishes the only sufficient solution to the problem how the Roman Catholics of America can cease to be a "foreign colony"—as one of their own writers calls them—and how they may remain faithful to their convictions as to the papal obedience, and yet be true Americans. "Let us be [Roman] Catholics," said the great Bossuet, "but let us be Gallicans." He showed his countrymen how to combine these relations (1) in his Exposition of the Trent Creed, and (2) in his Defense of the Gallican Liberties as professed by all the French bishops in their Council of 1682. I stand to-day just where Bos-

suet would stand if he were now living in America. If the Roman pontiffs gave official approbation to his Exposition, and retained the French bishops in full communion after their Declaration of 1682, then American Roman Catholics are entitled to like freedoms and privileges. I assert, as I have always asserted, that little as I approve of the Trent dogmas, even as Bossuet expounds them, there is no necessary antagonism between Gallicanism and the constitutional principles of this republic. Gallican Roman Catholics have been and are good citizens; but Ultramontanists never can be Americans. The distinction is a historic one, and is enforced by the laws of France from the Middle Ages until now, and in the *Concordat* with the First Consul. In 1801 the pontiff ratified and established Gallicanism as a concession to the republic. And this is my position, therefore: The Roman court must accord nothing less to Roman Catholics in this republic, or it declares war upon our Constitution and renders it impossible for them to be free Americans and honest in their professions of loyalty to the government.

Ultramontanism is a formidable word, but it means just what is popularly known as Jesuitism. The spirit of Northern Europe found it convenient to distinguish between what freemen professed and were willing to accept, in communion with Rome, and what was demanded by the court of Rome itself. They would not submit to what was claimed south of the Alps, "beyond the mountains." Observe, out of their respect for the pontiff, they distinguished between the pope and the papal court. They venerated him, and attributed to his court the extravagances published in his name. They called it "Ultramontane" doctrine, and rejected it. In later times the Jesuits embodied its maxims in their society, and became an army to enforce it, everywhere and by every means. But is Jesuitism essential to the Roman Catholic religion? How can it be, when every Roman Catholic nation in Europe, one after another, has banished the Jesuits as intolerable enemies of the state? How so, when Clement XIV. suppressed them forever, as not less intolerable to the church? Even Pius the Ninth, in his better days, banished them from Rome. So then, as a Roman Catholic, if I were one, I should quote "Infallibility" for my position, that Ultramontanism is at war with governments, with Christian civilization, and with the peace and integrity of the Roman Catholic church itself. This position I could support

from Roman Catholic writers, the most illustrious of modern and more ancient times ; and I should say to the Roman court emphatically : "This or nothing—the American Constitution tolerates all that has for ages been conceded to Gallicans, but with Ultramontanism there can be no compromise. It is warfare that cannot be disguised, with all that is dear to the American people."

Happily, the spirit of the Gallican maxims has its equivalents in our American Constitution, and it is actually embedded in the Naturalization Laws. Let me quote them, in brief, as follows :

"1. The alien seeking to be naturalized must make oath, two years beforehand, of his *bona-fide* intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to *renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty ;* in particular, that to which he has been subject.

"2. When he applies for naturalization, after the two years thus provided for, he must prove that he has resided in the United States five years at least ; that during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character, *attached to the principles of the Constitution*, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same.

"3. If he has borne any hereditary title, or been of *any of the orders of nobility* in the kingdom or state from which he came, he shall, in addition to the above requisites, *make an express renunciation* of his title or order of nobility.

"4. Finally, he shall, at the time of his application, make oath that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he *absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity* to every foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, particularly the state or sovereignty of which he has been a subject."*

In brief, then, our Constitution, as interpreted by legislation, asserts Home Rule for Americans. It assumes that no foreign potentate whatever shall be permitted to dictate to us in matters of politics, of society, of legislation, of jurisprudence, of education, or of government in any of its forms. No American citizen shall be subject to any foreign court, so that he may be summoned to a foreign country to answer for his political conduct, or for anything affecting his rights as a citizen. Our country is competent to manage its own affairs; to settle the delicate relations between labor and capital, and to regulate associations and organizations among the people, without inquiring of a foreign court, ignorant of our conditions, our wants and the spirit of our laws, what Americans may lawfully do. Take, for example, the case of a Roman Catholic citizen who happens to be an ecclesiastic, and who assumes a politi-

* "Revised Statutes of the United States." Title xxx, page 380. Washington. 1875.

cal position which some regard as in conflict with his vocation; let his local superiors settle the ecclesiastical question here among themselves and give him just judgment, where, if they rob him of his profession and means of livelihood unjustly, they can be punished by the laws. As an American, he cannot lawfully be summoned beyond seas, to be judged by an Italian court. For look, if he can thus be dealt with for a wrong position, he may, also, be cited abroad and punished for a right one. If they may call him to account in Italy for his conduct in America when he votes for an agrarian, so, also, when it comes to sustaining our common school system, he may be cited to Rome and stripped of his profession, because he votes to uphold and to perpetuate it. If this can be done in one case, so in a thousand; and by terrorism, a thousand ecclesiastics may be forced to vote as an Italian dictates (an Antonelli, perhaps, or another Borgia), and every such ecclesiastic will control a thousand lay voters by like terrorism. What then? The government itself may be turned into a dependency of the court of Rome. The balance of power may enable a minority to usurp the functions of government under color of law; and lo! we are transformed into a Mexico, with no choice but to bow our necks to a foreign domination, or to involve ourselves in religious wars for the preservation of freedom. See how wise are our laws, in their unconscious Gallicanism; intolerant of all foreign interference, and, as I said, asserting Home Rule for Americans. We choose to be governed by ourselves, as were our Anglo-Saxon forefathers by themselves, in the darkest days of papal domination. It was then that they said to the Italians: "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*" We say just as emphatically of our American laws and constitutions: We will not suffer them to be altered by any foreign dictation whatever.

But what is our actual concern with these principles just now? Are we threatened with alien interference and with a foreign power to influence and overawe our elections? I leave it to your own burning sense of recent events to frame the proper reply. The proposal to introduce a papal nuncio into the republic; the residence among us of a cardinal, who is a foreign prince and bound to a foreign court by obligations which no American has any right to assume; the goings to and fro of ecclesiastics to consult an alien potentate as to our domestic questions of labor and labor associations, and to prescribe to our citizens what they may do or not do in such issues; and the proposed establishment in this Capital, of a

university under the authority of a pontiff who, whatever the virtues of his private character, has been forced to re-invest the Jesuits with unlimited powers, and with functions against which every Roman Catholic government in Europe has protested, not only in words, but by banishing the Jesuits as public enemies and confiscating their estates; I ask, are not these tokens of peril to be resisted here and now and for all time to come? Are they not the prelude to an open assault upon our common schools, and their subversion through political subserviency?

Let me remind you of some tokens of alien warfare on our dearest relations in society, which we may rely on liberal Roman Catholics to resist with us.

Archbishop Lynch, of Toronto, in a letter to Lord Randolph Churchill, reminds him that he and his confraternity hold the *balance of power* in Canada, and through it have controlled the elections there; and he goes on to assert that by a similar use of the *balance of power*, presidential elections will be decided in this republic.

In California, certain Ultramontane dignitaries have insulted American social ties of the most sacred character, by reflecting on the marriages of the vast majority of our countrymen as mere concubinage.

Our school system is denounced in terms the most flagrant, and a counter-system is set up in which the un-American ideas of the Syllabus are to be imposed on thousands of our future voters. Private schools, if subjected to the supremacy of our laws, and so stripped of Ultramontanism, might receive the approval of Americans; but as Ultramontane schools, they are a menace to the republic. No schools should be permitted to exist without government inspection. How destructive they must be to American society, if worked in an alien spirit, under the dictation of a foreign court, may be inferred by any one who reads Mr. Gladstone's demonstrative reviewal of Vaticanism and the Syllabus. But take a fair example. I hold in my hand a book issued by the "Catholic Publication Society" in New York, and by affiliated publishers in Baltimore and Cincinnati. It is printed in Baltimore under license of its late Archbishop (Bailey) and the certificate of his official censor, that it is unobjectionable—"*nihil obstat.*" It is a book of instruction for children. Its motto is (quoted from Benedict XIV.), "We affirm that the greatest part of the damned are in hell, because they did not know those mysteries of faith

which Christians must know and believe." What are these mysteries? Let us read this authorized Ultramontane school book.

I quote (pp. 97–104) as follows:

"Q. Have Protestants any faith in Christ?
"A. They never had.
"Q. Why not?
"A. Because there never lived such a Christ as they imagine and believe in.
"Q. In what kind of a Christ do they believe?
"A. In such a one of whom they can make a liar with impunity, whose doctrine they can interpret as they please, and who does not care what a man believes, provided he be an honest man before the public.
"Q. Will such a faith in such a Christ save Protestants?
"A. No sensible man will assert such an absurdity.
"Q. What will Christ say to them on the day of judgment?
"A. I know you not, because you never knew me.

. . . . . .

"Q. Are Protestants willing to confess their sins to a Catholic bishop or priest, who alone has power from Christ to forgive sins? 'Whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven them.'
"A. No; for they generally have an utter aversion to confession, and, therefore, their sins will not be forgiven them throughout all eternity.
"Q. What follows from this?
"A. That they die in their sins, and are damned."

A Gallican would here remind his Jesuit brethren that even in the Roman Communion there was never any obligatory confession of this sort until the times (A. D. 1215) of Innocent III.; and I ask liberal Roman Catholics whether they wish their children to be instructed in such Ultramontane ideas of their Protestant countrymen? Have we not a right to demand that the text-books and teachers of Roman Catholic schools, if chartered by our legislatures, be subject to government inspection? If their proposed university in Washington receives a charter from the United States, should it not contain such a prescription? Observe what sort of professors we shall have, unless we protect ourselves like freemen. The book I have quoted is commended in unmeasured terms by a "professor of Moral Theology and Canon Law," which is a specimen of what such professors will be likely to teach, here, at our seat of government, and in constant intercourse with our law-givers, our judges, our Cabinet officers and the society of the White House itself.

"Professor Konings, C. S. F. R., speaking of the book which

tells us that all Protestants will be damned, eulogizes it as follows:

"I have most carefully read and examined your excellent manuscript, 'Familiar Exposition of Christian Doctrine.' I took the liberty to make a few alterations. I do not hesitate for a moment to pronounce this work of yours one of the most useful for our time and country. It is written in the true spirit of St. Alphonsus. I was particularly pleased with those chapters which treat on the Church, Papal Infallibility, etc."

As he has "made a few alterations," we infer that he is the more responsible for all which remains unaltered.

There is no *modus vivendi* with the emissaries of such a religion as this Ultramontane book sets forth. But we sincerely seek a *modus vivendi*, a means of living with our Roman Catholic brethren on good terms, in Christian neighborhood, and with as true a jealousy for their rights as we cherish in behalf of our own. What is to supply this *modus vivendi?* I will give the answer suggested by a Roman Catholic writer, to whom his fellow-religionists propose to erect a statue, as to one of the greatest ornaments of their faith in America. Their own Orestes Brownson warns them that they must become Americans; that thus far they are a "foreign colony" in the nation—"representing a civilization different from the American, *and in many respects inferior to it.*" He says: "The foreignism which Roman Catholics bring with them . . . *is antagonistic to the American idea.*" He asserts that "they are a people as distinct from the American people, in all except their political and social rights, as the people of France, Italy, Spain, England, Germany and Ireland." They are, "speaking in general terms, a foreign people; think, feel, speak and act as a foreign population." Again he says: "They who are educated in our schools seem misplaced and mistimed in the world, as if born and educated for *a world that has ceased to exist.*" Now, is this to be the character of the proposed university in Washington? Certainly not, if it is to be chartered by an American Congress. But I have shown that every Roman Catholic who is "attached to *the principles* of the American Constitution," is essentially a Gallican, and, therefore, to carry out the ideas of Dr. Brownson, the Roman Catholics of America must assert and proclaim the Gallican maxims, and should require the court of Rome to concede to them, as Americans, all that was conceded to their co-religionists in France, under the republic, in 1801. We may be sure that this position would be

approved by all men who honor the sentiments of Charles Carrol, of Carrolton.

Let us examine the "Organic Articles" which the court of Rome authorized in 1801. I quote a few specimens:

"1. No bull, brief, rescript, decree, mandate, nor any other missives from the court of Rome, not even such as merely concern individuals, can be received, published, printed, or otherwise put into execution without authorization of the government.

"2. No person styling himself nuncio, legate, vicar or apostolic commissary, or *relying on any other denomination* (e. g., cardinal) shall without similar authorization, exercise, on French soil or elsewhere, any function relative to the affairs of the Gallican church."

In the same spirit these Organic Laws forbid the publication of such a document as the Syllabus, or even the decrees of the Vatican council, without permission of the government, the government charging itself to license only such documents as in no wise affect the laws and franchises of the republic, and contain nothing that concerns or might disturb the public tranquillity. Much more to the same purpose, and entering into minute details, is contained in this instructive work of eminent French jurists. Now, what do we learn from such a document? I answer: (1) We learn what Ultramontanism can do, and is sure to do, against any free republic, when not held in check by such safeguards; and (2) we learn what the Roman Catholic "bishops in America, if they are sincerely attached to the principles of the American Constitution," are bound to do, exacting tantamount concessions to them as Americans, and so giving their countrymen a guarantee of their resolution to "abjure all fidelity" to a foreign court of Italians and others who may, in so many ways, interfere with our public affairs and disturb the public tranquillity.

Obviously, the American government could not enter into a *Concordat* with the court of Rome, nor ask the pontiff to concede to it the powers of authorization which were conceded to a Roman Catholic state. But, if the Roman Catholics of America are sincerely "attached to the *principles* of the Constitution," they *will exercise these powers themselves*, and will, in behalf of their countrymen, reject foreign interference in every particular which the French republic could not permit with safety to itself. They will limit every claim and interposition of the Roman court, by the historic example of the Gallicans, and will say, in the spirit of St.

Louis and in the words of Bossuet: "Let us maintain those sturdy maxims of our forefathers, which the Gallican church has received from the traditions of the church universal."

Thousands of Roman Catholics in America, as I happen to know, are chafing under the vassalage in which the court of Rome holds them, as compared with what she concedes to other Latin churches. Their bishops themselves are mere papal vicars, and wear a yoke of intolerable servility; they are not enfranchised with any autonomous powers, but are treated as children, if not as literal vassals. Their laity hold no rights in the property they create, have no voice in the election of their prelates, or in the choice of their clergy. That they submit, as they do, to such servitude can only be explained by what Dr. Brownson has told us; all this is only possible because, as he says, they are essentially aliens; they are not yet identified with the civil and social principles of Americans.

But if I were a Roman Catholic bishop in America, I would tolerate this state of things no longer. I would emancipate myself and my people. I would lift them out of their position as a "foreign colony" and place them on a level with all their countrymen, by making them indisputably "attached to the principles of the American Constitution," and by bringing their local institutions into harmony with it. From what the Roman court has conceded in times past to Englishmen under the Plantagenets, and to Frenchmen under Louis XIV. and the Consulate, I would frame a Bill of Rights and say: "These are our claims as Americans, and we will not be deprived of anything which infallible pontiffs have conceded to our forefathers." What would be the result? I answer by pointing to what Rome has conceded to such petty people as the "Uniats" of Russia, the "Maronites," or the "United Greeks and Armenians." Rome will not deny what her spiritual subjects are manly enough to demand, as requisite to their citizenship in this great republic. We, on our part, claim for them only what they will be sure to demand spontaneously as soon as they wake up to their rights as Americans, and to the precedents which entitle them, as Roman Catholics, to liberties too long withheld. "So speaks St. Bernard," according to Bossuet, "with all the saints of his age, and all who have been the most exemplary among the French." And he adds, with eloquence: "Thus it was, also, that the most saintly personage who ever wore the crown of France, the most loyal to the Holy See, and the most ardent defender of the Roman

faith (you recognize my reference to St. Louis) felt obliged to *persist in the Gallican maxims* and to publish a Pragmatic for the maintenance in his kingdom of the common rights and prerogatives of bishops, according to General Councils and the institutions of the Fathers." In all I have said, I have been pleading for those rights and for those institutions, in behalf of my Roman Catholic countrymen.

REV. JAMES M. KING, D. D., OF NEW YORK.

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS :—I am grateful for the privilege of having enjoyed, with you, this address, so accurate in historical statement, and so discriminating in drawing the lines between Roman Catholicism, as such, and Jesuitical Romanism. And yet I sometimes think, from our experience in this land, that the distinction, while it ought to be made, is not duly appreciated. I heard of the officiary of a given church, some years ago, summoning a pastor before it, and the richest and most influential man among the officials finally pronounced the verdict that required the pastor to leave, and the objection that he had to him was that he was "too personal." When, over and over again, requested to tell what the personalities of the pastor consisted in, he said he was persistently and continuously attacking "Satan and all his followers." [Laughter.]

The fact has been referred to that I was called to follow Bishop Coxe for a few moments in this discussion, because of my position for some years as chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Evangelical Alliance. The work of that committee is to watch legislation. Well, you say, "Why watch legislation?" Because it will bear watching. [Laughter.] It needs watching in many of our states and especially in our great Empire State of New York. It has needed watching for a number of years, to keep the Solons that we have elected to make our laws from putting on the statute books the beginnings of laws that shall bind us to a foreign prince. That is all. Those would-be laws that would begin the wedding between church and state, which forever ought to be divorced in this free republic. [Great applause.]

I want to say one thing in this connection. Some very tender-hearted people, who have corns on the upper part of their toes

[Laughter.] have felt that perhaps the work of the Evangelical Alliance was simply "Anti-Romanism." It is nothing of that kind at all. We have only taken part in the controversy with Jesuitical Romanism where it was necessary to defend ourselves, and have never made an assault. [Applause.] Religiously, I have nothing to say in reference to Roman Catholicism. I believe that multitudes of the adherents of that faith are as genuinely Christian as any of the men or women I address to-night. There may be memories and traditions of men with burning tapers, and of interposing priests, but there are hundreds of thousands of honest hearts among them that are feeling for the Christ within. I claim for *ourselves* simply the same right of charitable judgment concerning religious conviction. But, when religious conviction takes a political turn, it comes to be dangerous. [Applause.]

The President of this meeting uttered a sentiment that I am glad to hear from a United States Senator, namely, that he believes in taking his religion into his politics. So do I. [Applause.] But it is because I feel that my religion would not hurt the politics. Jesuitical Romanism believes the same thing, and I pay it the tribute of fidelity to its belief. It not only tries, but it succeeds, in taking its religion into its politics.

You ask how? Well, I never was elected a member of any State Legislature. I have been a self-constituted member of the Third House for a number of years. If you want to find out the virtues of a politician you want to be in the "lobby." [Laughter.] The patriotic speeches that are made for home-consumption do not accord at all with the quiet little miscellaneous remarks that are made in the lobby. I have been in the midst of the members of the Third House, who are not always particularly gratified at my companionship, but then a man cannot always choose, and that is what they think of me sometimes—I have stood in the midst of the members of the Third House, at the capital of one of our sovereign states, and listened to words that were backed up with oaths—threats of political death to men that dare oppose the putting on the statute-books of laws that opened every sectarian institution in the city of New York to the setting up of confessionals, and the introduction of a given form of sectarian preaching.

It is as a political power that I am afraid of this Ultramontanism; and it is not only "over the mountains" this time, but it has crossed the seas. But somebody says, "You are an alarmist."

Oh, no! I have just common sense. Why, the greatest statesman, so far as genius is concerned, that has ever shaped the destiny of any land—a man that you would suppose would not yield to ecclesiastical power, has gone to Canossa. We have hundreds of "Bismarcks" in this country. [Laughter.] It is not because of the influence that Jesuitical Romanism may have on the great men that we are concerned, but it is the influence exercised by it on the petty pot-house politician. I know what I am talking about, because I have seen the bargains made and the goods delivered. [Laughter.]

I simply want to add one or two points. The peril which Bishop Coxe has so well put, with historical backing, is in the teaching that makes loyalty first to a foreign prince, and second to the republic. That is the unhealthy and the dangerous teaching. Why is it that the order has gone forth that, wherever possible, parochial schools shall be erected and measures taken for the instruction of childhood? For the simple reason that the second and third generations, brought up under American instruction, filled with the American spirit, chafe under the restraints of a required loyalty to a foreign power, and they break loose. [Applause.]

The only hope of keeping youth under this foreign power to-day, is to keep them under the instruction of the book from which Bishop Coxe has quoted, or books of that character.

So far as I am concerned I say "Welcome," even to believers in political Jesuitism. Welcome, all forms of faith to this land. I would not want to close the doors against them. But, welcome to *equal rights;* that is all. [Applause.] That is all anybody ought to ask. Welcome to equal rights; and the sentiment of American citizenship, backed up by Christian faith, ought to see to it that there is no interference with the rights of that citizenship in this land by a foreign power. Eternal separation of church and state! No sectarian appropriations! No dividing of the public school fund! [Great applause.]

THE SALOON.

BY REV. R. S. MacARTHUR, D. D., OF NEW YORK.

Going down Sixth Avenue, New York, a little time ago, I saw a door, over which were these words, "Saloon: A. Blessing." This struck me as being somewhat inaccurate. A man named Blessing ought surely to be in some other business. Had the inscription read, "Saloon: A. Curse," it would have been nearer the truth; had it read, "Saloon: the Greatest Curse on this Earth," the words would have been literally true. In another part of the same city there is a saloon which is properly named. Over its main entrance are the words, "Hell Gate." In connection with this title there might well be given a part of the inscription which Dante places over the gate of his hell:

> "Through me ye enter the abode of woe;
> Through me to endless sorrow are ye brought;
> Through me amid the souls accurst ye go.
> * * * * * * * *
> All hope abandon—ye who enter here."

It is impossible to find language which will truly state how great a curse the saloon is. Of some of its evils we shall, in the first place, speak.

We begin with its merely negative features. It certainly is needless; it serves no good purpose to any human being. What is the good of the saloon, anyway? What legitimate want does it supply? What necessity of civilization does it meet? We do not ask such questions regarding the grocery, the bakery, the market, and many other kinds and places of business. They justify their right to be. But we must advance a step; the saloon is not only useless, it is hurtful. It is evil in itself, and that uniformly and continually, universally and necessarily. Not only does it not

supply any legitimate want, but it creates illegitimate and unholy wants. It is a child of the devil, and an agent of hell.

But we must advance yet, in rightly estimating this evil. In these more recent days it has become organized, despotic and Satanic to an unusual degree; it has become an institution. It has resolved upon the possession of political power, and it is massing all its forces with that end in view. It finds politicians ready to bow down and worship at its feet for the sake of the votes which it promises to secure and to deliver. It moves forward with gigantic strides, with aggressive purpose, and with marvelous wisdom, toward the attainment of these unholy ends. It possesses large amounts of wealth, and it can secure vast and varied talents, legal and political, bad and worse, for the accomplishment of its ambitious and devilish purposes. No one ought to underestimate the magnitude of its resources; no one ought to be blind to the peril of our position. It claims to have—and the claim seems justified by the facts—a thousand millions of dollars invested in its unmanly and ungodly business; it claims to have not fewer than five hundred thousand employees under its immediate control; it claims to have millions of followers ready to obey its nod, so far as political thinking and voting are concerned. Its revenues are larger and its profits greater, it is said, than those of the one hundred and forty thousand miles of railroad in the United States. All these external sources of power are supported and emphasized by the appetites and passions of millions of its victims. No one can examine these statements, and for a moment doubt the impossibility of exaggerating the resources for evil of the saloon.

But we must still advance in estimating this evil. Not only is the end it seeks utterly bad, but the means it employs to secure its end are the worst which its black heart can devise and execute. It does not hesitate at murder as one of its instruments. It is but a little time since, in the brave prohibition state of Iowa, the saloon took the life-blood of the noble Haddock, a Methodist minister, a devoted servant of God, and an inspired enemy of the saloon. It is but yesterday since another man, in the great state of Mississippi, the son of an aged Baptist minister, and the chivalrous editor of a temperance journal, a man who dared to tell the truth regarding the saloon, was shot down like an animal, because

of his faithfulness to right and his exposure of wrong. It is but a little time since, in the noble state of Ohio, a church was partly shattered by dynamite while a crowded audience was present, listening to an address on temperance and against the saloon. In the light of these facts, it is certain that the time has come when men must speak brave and necessarily bitter words against this gigantic evil. It stalks abroad through the land, destroying all that is noblest in our civilization and holiest in our religion. In the description which the prophet Daniel gives us, in the seventh chapter of the book which is called by his name, of the various beasts which he saw in the vision, in the seventh verse we are told of one particular beast (the fourth) which was "dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it; and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns." This is certainly a striking description. The form of this beast is not given, as was that of the lion, the bear and the leopard in previous parts of the vision. The imagination is left to picture an appropriate form for a beast described by such terrible images. It was so shocking a monster that no one name could accurately describe it. Terms of description are heaped together, although they are nearly synonymous, in order to give an impressive view of this shocking creature. With its great iron teeth it tore to pieces all which it could devour; with its terrible feet it stamped down and crushed into the earth that which otherwise it could not destroy; we have here a picture of wrath destroying where there was no advantage in the destruction, except the pleasure of destruction itself. If the prophet Daniel had had the saloon in mind when he gazed upon this vision, and when he recorded these striking words, he could not have given a more accurate description, alike of the spirit, the methods and the results of this master-piece of Satan. The saloon is this shocking monster, tearing with its great teeth and stamping into the earth with its terrible feet. It has trampled on the dearest hopes of fondest parents; it has broken the hearts of the truest and bravest of wives; it has filled the land with mourning, the grave with victims, and hell with drunkards. The hands of the Saloon, which recently were lifted up, pleading for "Personal Liberty," so-called, were dripping with the blood of murdered souls. By all that is sacred in family life, by all that is holy in the church, and by the justice

of the Eternal God, we declare that this murderer shall die for his God-defying and soul-destroying crimes !

The relations of the saloon to anarchy further emphasize its evil character and its dangerous tendency. But for the inspiration of hell breathed in the saloon, it is probable that bombs would never have been manufactured, and, if manufactured, would never have been exploded. In the saloon's murderous precincts anarchists hold their secret conclaves, plan their nefarious plots, and select their innocent victims. It is the school of anarchy, and the schoolmaster of anarchists. In this way it endeavors to sap the very foundations of the American republic, and tear down the pillars of the church of God. It was fitting that, when the justly hanged anarchists were borne to their unhallowed graves, certain saloons should have been draped in mourning. The relation between anarchy and alcohol was thus acknowledged to be as intimate as it is unholy. Destroy anarchism, and you have done much toward the destruction of the saloon ; destroy the saloon, and you have done much toward the destruction of anarchism. In the saloon the seeds are sown which blossom into bombs and ripen into murders. Sow atheism and alcoholism, and you reap universal dynamite, national destruction and eternal death. When one thinks in perfect calmness of the plain facts regarding this enemy to all that is good, he finds immediate use for the imprecatory Psalms. Indeed, no vehicle of emotion so well expresses his thoughts as some of the strongest denunciations of the most violent of these Psalms. As a man walks through our crowded streets, watching the wretchedness produced by the saloon, he finds it difficult to restrain his impatience, and his sense of outraged justice, from calling down the curse of God upon so horrible a traffic. While I write these words, a member of my church, a refined, cultured, Christian woman, lies in a city hospital, dying of a broken heart. Her coarse, brutal, drunken husband, a man of a different faith and nationality, has blighted her life, and virtually caused the death of three of her children; and having starved, beggared and beaten her, he now staggers, a fool and a demon, through the streets. Can I write calmly ? And the saddest part of it is, that this is but one of many tragedies daily enacted in the homes of both rich and poor in our great cities. On a recently published skeleton map of the city of New York, we have between eight and nine thousand saloons represented by black spots, giving it, as the

Hon. William Windom suggestively said in his address at the Anti-Saloon Republican Convention in New York, the appearance of a very bad case of confluent small-pox. Indeed, the language is not too strong. The comparison is appropriate. These saloons are a greater evil to that city than if they were exchanged for small-pox pest-houses. That disease might be controlled and eventually eradicated; but the saloon sends forth a daily and a deadly poison, for which neither the wisdom of man nor the providence of God has yet furnished an effectual antidote.

When we turn to the direct influence of the saloon on our holy religion, we see its evils in an equally strong light. As ministers and members of our churches, we must oppose the saloon with all the might God gives us. It keeps whole families from the house of God. It opposes us in a thousand ways. We must take up the gauntlet thus thrown down, or retire from the field, acknowledging ourselves to be cowards. We are not ready thus to retire. The church of God lifts men up into the noblest manhood; the saloon throws them down into the lowest degradation. The church attempts to make men over into the image of God; the saloon blots out the last trace of that image from their souls. The saloon robs them of the glory of manhood, and of all that makes immortality desirable. The knowledge of the wretchedness which it brings to innocent wives and children, is enough to break the heart of a thoughtful man with its continuous aching. Seeing the work of destruction which it is constantly producing, one is led to cry out in the bitterness of his spirit and in the agony of his entire being, "How long, O Lord, holy and true!" The misery of the children of drunkards, as they are closely packed in the wretched tenement houses of a great city, would move the eyes of angels to tears. The real discussion of poverty and anti-poverty is practically wrapped up in the subject of the saloon. Its support must inevitably come in large measure from the workingmen of our country. In it they are now spending their millions upon millions yearly. It was recently stated, in the *Boston Citizen*, that General Swift, in addressing the Young Men's Union, of Boston, on the wage-question, affirmed that $37,000,000 were spent in Massachusetts last year for intoxicating drinks. The saloon is the worst foe of labor; when workingmen become truly wise, they will declare, with a voice of thunder, "The saloon must go." It is much to the credit of one great labor organization,

that no liquor dealer is deemed to be a fit associate for its members. The most important reform among workingmen is not fewer hours of labor, but fewer glasses of liquor. Laboring men have good wages, as a rule, in this country; this country is their paradise. Many of them are relatively rich. Their poverty, where it exists, is due to their drink bill rather than to the smallness of their income. At this point, as at all others, the saloon antagonizes the church, and all the best interests of humanity. It also deadens the conscience and all the religious sensibilities. It is almost impossible to get a man whose senses are steeped in liquor, to think seriously of the concerns either of time or eternity. The walls of his moral nature are broken down. The grace of God, it is true, can redeem a man in his lowest condition; but, if we may say it reverently, that grace has before it a gigantic undertaking, an enormous contract, when it attempts to lift into manhood the victim of intemperance, when the saloon has done its full work upon body and soul. Such a man is the wreck of all that is worthy the name of manhood. He has ceased to exercise any strong power of will; he has ceased to think of himself as made in the image of God; he forgets that he is an heir of eternity and a possible candidate for glory. His body is so diseased, that within it there are a thousand minute cells opening their mouths and crying for more liquor; all his evil passions are aroused; his brain refuses to think; his moral nature lies trampled by the feet of demons. Nothing short of the almighty power of the Eternal God can make anything out of such a wretched creature as this.

The saloon also discredits the word of God. That book is against the saloon; that book declares that no drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of heaven; that book, when its principles shall have had their due influence, shall destroy the saloon with utter annihilation with all its vile and inevitable accessories. The saloon, furthermore, would rob us of God's day, as it has already robbed so many men of God's image in their souls. The recent Personal Liberty League had its birth in the saloon. It is a monstrosity; perhaps we ought rather to say that it is the natural offspring of monstrous parents. It takes the linguistic livery of heaven with which to serve the devil. It uses liberty, as the Apostle Peter tells us, as a cloak of maliciousness; and, as he further tells us, "While they (its originators) promise them (its victims) liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption." Every one familiar with

the history of this recent monstrosity can at once divine its unholy parentage; it is not difficult to trace it back to the place and even to the time of its birth. We may once more refer to Senator Windom, whose strong words are not too strong when he says: "I do not overstate it, when I say that the two hundred thousand saloons in this country have been instrumental in destroying more human lives, in the last five years, than the two millions of armed men did during the four years of the Rebellion. Whisky is a more deadly weapon than shot and shell, or any of the implements of our improved modern warfare." Surely society has a right to protect itself against so terrific an evil! Surely the time is at hand when that protection should be sought and secured! Surely the day will dawn when the last saloon shall be removed from this long-suffering world!

This leads me to speak, in the second place, of the removal of this gigantic curse. We may begin with ourselves. Total abstinence for ourselves will remove this curse, within a limited sphere at least. We have lately heard too little on this duty. The political excitement has been so great that this personal and moral duty has been largely neglected. This is an old-fashioned remedy for part of the evil. It is a remedy that is always at hand. It has lately been much overlooked. We want great mowing machines, for cutting down the deadly weeds which the enemy has sowed; and while we have been looking for them with a great blare of trumpets, thousands of personal sickles have been rusting on the walls of the temple of temperance reform. There is reason to fear that with some of these political would-be mowers, the use of this sickle is somewhat distasteful. We must go back to it. "Take heed to thyself," is a good maxim. Let us bring out our sickles; then let us train our children aright; let us care for our homes, our schools and our churches, and much will be done. We do not urge total abstinence on the ground of direct Scriptural teaching. The day has gone by when men may urge the so-called "two-wine" theory, as if it were taught in the word of God. No good comes to any good cause by unnatural and unscholarly interpretations of Scripture. The insistence on this two-wine theory has done the cause of temperance untold injury. It is always an error to attempt to change the word of God from its natural teaching into a forced meaning. The end sought in this case was good; but even a good end will not justify the use of unfair means.

No man has a right to change the meaning of Scripture, even for the destruction of so great an evil as the saloon. The cause of temperance may well pray to be delivered from some of its zealous friends; for it has been much impeded by the so-called arguments urged by friends, who have more zeal than knowledge. Much has been written on both sides of this discussion; but I know of nothing so accurate, so candid, so courageous, so tolerant and so conclusive as the articles by the Rev. Dr. Alvah Hovey, which have been published recently in *The Baptist Quarterly Review*. These articles are to-day the classics on this subject. No one has yet come forward to answer him, although the editors have earnestly invited replies. The Bible, however, is distinctly against the saloon. The spirit of God's book and the gospel of God's Son destroyed the monster slavery, in the early history of the church under the most despotic governments. The same spirit and gospel struck the chains from four millions of slaves in our own land. Not Sherman, not Grant, not Lincoln, destroyed slavery, except as they were God's instruments in accomplishing his great purposes. The gospel of the Son of God made the Emancipation Proclamation possible. Back of the hand that wrote it, was a hand bearing the print of a nail in its palm—a hand that once was nailed to the cross That gospel says, with a profound meaning, whether a man be black or white, red or yellow, rich or poor, bond or free, "A man 's a man for a' that." That same gospel will strike down the other monster, alcohol. He is a worse tyrant than slavery; he enslaves body and soul, and destroys both in a drunkard's hell. The great principles of God's book, the divine maxims for human conduct, teach us how to regard the drunkard, and how to abstain for the sake of our own safety, for the sake of our example, which might hurt the weak, and for the sake of our divine Lord's glory, which this curse does so much to tarnish.

Moral suasion has also its place in the removal of this evil. Men may teach by precept as well as by example. All who come within the circle of our influence should be led, if possible, to follow our own total abstinence example. The medical argument should be urged. Great weight has recently been brought to bear upon the evils of liquor from a medical point of view. This paper does not furnish space to enter into the discussion of this part of the general subject; but we know that many intelligent doctors are seeing the danger to which their patients are exposed by the old

and common method of indiscriminately prescribing intoxicating liquors. Travelers into the coldest regions, and also those who go into tropical climates, come back to tell us that they are able to endure fatigue and to preserve health better without, than with stimulants. The truth regarding the scientific effect of alcoholic stimulants on the human system must be earnestly taught in our public schools. This is now done, as Mr. Joseph Cook has recently stated, in many states and in the schools of the territories; in our naval and military academies such instruction is made compulsory by an Act of Congress. A vast amount of wholesome literature on this general subject has been published by the National Temperance Society, and other organizations, within the past few years, and has been scattered all over this country. These facts give us hope for the future generations. They are full of encouragement, and all friends of humanity must rejoice in the influence which these methods of education are exerting.

The time has now come when all the friends of the church of God, and of the human race, must be summoned to work along various lines, in order to lessen this terrible curse. The discussion of this temperance question must go on. It will not "down." It is not the only question now before the American people; but we deliberately and emphatically affirm that it is the most important question, economically, politically and religiously, now before this republic. The party which will bow down at the feet of the Satanic tyrant, Alcohol, is a party for which the world has no use, God no respect, and the devil no dread. Of that party the devil has absolute control. The party which refuses to discuss this question, and rationally to settle it, will commit political suicide in the near future. No party can afford to treat this subject with negative assurances or indefinite promises. The party that does this will greatly oblige the nation by dying a speedy death, and by giving thousands upon thousands of voters a chance to hasten its death, and to bury it out of the nation's sight. Satan himself ought to be ashamed of any party which lies at the feet of Alcohol, even though it be his obedient slave. Politicians must take heed. This nation is aroused. It will not longer submit to the dictation of the saloon. A brighter day is dawning. The procession is forming. It will march to the music of a redeemed humanity and a triumphant Christ. The train will go, whether these liquor-enslaved politicians are on board or not. Some of us are happy to tell the masters and

the slaves of the saloon to leave the party whose name we bear. Their presence is socially offensive, politically destructive, and religiously abhorrent. We would rather march to the polls to be defeated, without the saloon, than to be victorious with the saloon. We shall have no concord with this Belial. Let liquor dealers form a party by themselves; it would be a spectacle to men and angels. But they will not do it; they know their only strength is in keeping in good company. But the good company is weary of their fellowship. No man, with a decent regard for himself or his family, cares to associate, even politically, with the destroyers of the nation and the race. If either the Democratic or the Republican party will have the moral courage, and the political wisdom, to shake off the saloon, the noblest men and women in the nation will rally to that party. That party will have the American republic and the Eternal God on its side.

The ultimate end at which we all should aim is the total extinction of the saloon. Toward that end we must move with unfaltering step, with buoyant heart, and with radiant face. God and eternal truth are upon our side. When the conscience of the nation is aroused, the minions of the saloon will disappear as chaff before the wind, or stubble in the flame. But in attaining these results, and while using these various educational and moral means, we must also insist upon all forms of legal restriction. Just at this point those who are friends of temperance, and so are foes of the saloon, divide among and against themselves. Rumsellers calculate always on a division of opinion and aim on the part of temperance men. These rumsellers count on this result almost with certainty; and, unfortunately, they are seldom disappointed. To-day there is imperative need of unity among all those who are friends of temperance, or who, at heart, are foes of the saloon. If this paper may contribute anything toward bringing about this result, one object, at least, of its preparation shall be secured. Let us all thoroughly understand that, if we cannot entirely remove this fearful evil immediately, we can at least lessen its power for harm. If we can reduce the number of saloons by seventy-five, fifty or even twenty-five per cent, we shall have accomplished so much toward the end which we seek. Shall we decline to do this much, because we cannot at present do more? Shall we decline to strike the enemy one by one, because we cannot destroy the whole army in a single onset? Shall we refuse

to reduce his strength because we cannot immediately annihilate him foot and horse? Surely, to ask these questions is to answer them, and to answer them with an emphatic negative.

In speaking of the use of legal restrictions, we may be permitted to name some of the methods which, in our judgment, may be wisely employed. We would favor, first, as a step toward the end for which we labor and pray, a system of heavy taxation upon the traffic, when and where more radical measures are not possible. We know that there are many who dislike the words "High License." They refuse to employ them. They believe that by favoring any form of license they become in a measure responsible for the traffic; they believe that taxation in any form implies indorsement—to some degree at least—of the saloon, with all its attendant evils. There is some force in this consideration; we are not without sympathy with this view, but we ought to do justice to those who advocate heavy taxation, both in stating their position and in commending their motive. We ought clearly to look at the whole matter. We believe most earnestly that all who oppose the saloon ought to stand together; we cannot afford at this time to dispense with any element of power which it is possible for us to use. We must not turn and fire our sharpest arrows, or any arrows, into the faces of men who honestly, according to their own methods, are with us in fighting the saloon. The rumsellers stand before us an unbroken phalanx for evil; the lines of temperance men for good are broken and ragged. We ought now to level all our weapons at the heart of the common enemy. We must stand together. We cannot all agree as to methods, but we can agree as to motives, and disagree, if we must, as brethren. We ought surely to agree to take all we can get to-day, and ask more for to-morrow, and to move on the enemy step by step, if we cannot in a grand charge. Remember, that we are speaking of heavy taxation, not as an end, but as a means toward an end, that end being the total destruction of the rum traffic. Surely, it is possible to suggest a common ground of action on which Christian men and all other good citizens can unite. We must remember that under the common law of England every man had an undoubted right to sell all beverages; that law, we all know, is the foundation of our own jurisprudence. There were, of course, ways in which damages might be secured against a man if he injured his neighbor in the exercise of his rights. Therefore, in England, and

in the various states of our own Union, limitations have been placed upon this common-law right. These limitations rest upon the admitted principle that the state may enact regulations for preserving the health and the morals of the people. These limitations do not conflict with the fundamental right of each man, as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Pilots, engineers, doctors and others are licensed by the state, in order to protect the state from the dangers arising from permitting incompetent persons to engage in these avocations. The common-law right permits any man to prescribe medicine for the sick; but the State steps in to say that no man may exercise that right who does not give evidence of possessing a certain degree of professional skill. The state exercises the same principle in regard to the sale of gunpowder, of poison and of other dangerous commodities; the same principle is illustrated when the building of wooden houses in certain cities is prohibited, and when fast driving in crowded streets is prevented. It is only fair to say that the word license, in connection with the sale of liquor, has been greatly misunderstood. Many assume that no one would have the right to sell liquor except he had a license; the truth, however, is that everybody would have the right to sell liquor if some persons did not have a license. License laws are restrictive; they are of the nature of prohibitory laws. They prohibit all citizens, with the exception of a few who are specified, from engaging in this traffic; and, as a matter of fact, they do prohibit more than ninety-nine per cent from selling liquor. But for this prohibition, the way would be open to all who were so disposed to engage in the traffic. License laws might well be considered as giving permission to sell liquor, in the sense in which many temperance advocates understand the word license, if no liquor were sold in any given community, and a license to sell it were issued to some in that community; but in a community where everyone might sell, and where thousands certainly would sell, if there were no license required, the issuance of a license prevents the great majority from engaging in the sale. This seems very clear; but I know that it is extremely difficult to make this distinction clear to some minds, however plain it may seem to others. Opinions will probably continue to differ among intelligent and honest men as to the effect of high license laws where they are tested. It is affirmed by many that in some counties of Illinois the license fee has been so high as

practically to prevent the selling of liquor. It is also affirmed that in that state many temperance men believe that the new law has accomplished great results in restricting the evils of the liquor traffic during the past four years. Probably the law has not yet been sufficiently tested to enable anyone, authoritatively, either to affirm or to deny. It is also said that the operation of the law in Ohio and Michigan is leading to the same conclusion; but the different opinions entertained regarding the effect of the law in Illinois probably apply also to Ohio and Michigan. That a high license law will reduce the number of saloons, is very certain; that it will also somewhat reduce the amount of liquor consumed, is also certain; but it is equally certain that this latter reduction will not be very great—will not be in proportion to the reduction in the number of the saloons. High license is but a temporary expedient when and where nothing better can be secured. As between practically free rum and high license, give us high license every time; as between high license and a total restriction of the traffic, give us prohibition every time.

Secondly, we favor local option where this can be secured. The idea of this plan is to give permission to towns and counties in any state where the prohibition sentiment is sufficiently strong, to pass a prohibitory law, so far as that county or town is concerned. Where the sentiment in the community is strong enough to secure and enforce such a law, prohibition can in this way be obtained. We all know that a law is worthless, except it can be supported by public opinion; that a law without a penalty is not a law—it is only advice. Under the operation of the local option law a considerable part of Georgia has reached practical prohibition. A local option law would enable many communities to settle this vexed and vexing question. A local option bill, it is said, will soon be introduced into the Legislature of New York; there will also be another, which provides that in cities of one hundred thousand population the license fee for selling all kinds of liquor shall be at least $500, and may be placed as high as $2,000; another bill may be presented which will reduce the number of saloons by providing that there shall not be more than one to every five hundred persons in any place. These bills are to be carefully prepared by able lawyers and judges; they will avoid the alleged causes for the vetoes by Governor Hill last year. The Episcopal Church Temperance Society, the High License Association, and the Society for the Pre-

vention of Crime are united in the preparation, and are pledged to the support of these bills.

I would like, thirdly, to urge all friends of temperance, even though they may disagree in opinion, to unite in action on at least some plan, the one which at the time and in the place is the most rational and practical, for the restriction of the traffic. If prohibition be possible, let it be prohibition; but if not, we cannot see how any man can refuse to adopt some such basis of action as this : SUPPORT AND VOTE FOR ANY MEASURE THAT INCREASES THE PRESENT RESTRICTIONS. That measure may at one time, and in some communities, be called heavy taxation; at another time, and in another community, it may be local option, or it may be constitutional prohibition. This is the end toward which we should aim; this is the goal which we hope eventually to reach. But it is the very height of folly for men to do nothing because they cannot do everything; to permit men and women to drown except they are pulled out, or the pond is drained, according to any one measure of reform, and especially at times and in places where that measure of reform is clearly impossible. This is the day of union among churches for the accomplishment of great common ends; ought it to be less a time of union among temperance organizations for the destruction of the drink traffic ? If any method will reduce the number of saloons by even one, or lessen the evil of the traffic by the saving of even one man, can any Christian man, or any other good citizen, justify himself in opposing that measure ? The man who opposes a method of reform because it falls short of total prohibition, especially when total prohibition is clearly impossible, becomes virtually a partaker in the rumseller's traffic, and so also, in a measure, in his guilt. Prohibition is simply a further application of the restrictive principle, by whatever name called. The man who will oppose restrictive laws, practically prefers free rum. Is a man ready to announce that he would rather do evil now in the hope that good may come, in some vague way and at some remote time, than to lessen evil in the immediate present ? The man who would injure a neighbor to-day, on the ground that he hopes to benefit him to-morrow; the man who prefers to let the tide of evil flow through the land, because he cannot stop it entirely—forfeits our respect for his common sense and for his practical judgment. The man, on the other hand, whose preference is for local option, or heavy taxation, and who believes that either

of these systems is better than total prohibition, and who refuses to support total prohibition, when it is possible to secure it, is worthy of reprobation. He ought to give his support to prohibitory legislation, when that is the practical issue in his community. Wherever legislation, which is certain to restrict the liquor traffic, becomes the practical issue, every Christian man, and every other good citizen, ought to support that legislation, even though it be not, in his judgment, the wisest measure that could be devised, if it be the only measure which at the time is possible. On this basis all friends of temperance can and ought to unite.

On this basis some temperance men in the city of New York have practically united ; and they are accomplishing much. While some have kept aloof, because of their advocacy of the entire destruction of the traffic in the future, others are quietly at work. They are doing the best they can; they are taking all they can get to-day; they are ready to demand more to-morrow. Their names are not heralded as political temperance men, but they have accomplished good results in the restriction of the liquor traffic. All who are in this movement are not agreed in their temperance principles or practices; but all are agreed as to the evil of the saloon, and, in order to oppose it, they have united on a practical basis of work. In the past few years crime has also greatly decreased. Mr. Charles L. Brace, in the last annual report of that admirable charity, the Children's Aid Society, after detailing the various forms of beneficent work which the Society is doing, sums up with the assertion that "in the last ten years there has been a decrease of twelve and one-half per cent in all crimes against person and property, which have been dealt with by the police of this city; and this result has been secured in spite of the fact that the overcrowding in the poor quarters is greater than it ever was; the immigration of the ignorant and destitute classes from Europe has continued to a frightful extent; the municipal government has often been the worst ever known in American cities, and the population of the working class districts has increased to an immense degree, having doubled since 1856." This society has nobly and heroically grappled with enormous obstacles; it has grandly proved, as one of our religious papers has said, that the way to do a difficult thing is—to do it.

Why cannot temperance men of all wings—total abstainers and moderationists, Catholics and Protestants, believers and atheists, Christians and heathen, indeed, all who are opposed to the saloon—

thus unite? What principle would they necessarily sacrifice? Is not the attainment of the end worth more than giving honor to one's own method of doing the work? If the energy spent in opposing one another had been expended in practical work, the number of saloons might have been reduced at least one-half in this city and country during the past four years. What has been done, shows what great results might be secured, if all united in an earnest endeavor to use the legal machinery, which the laws, as they now stand, make available.

This paper does not mean to strike any doleful note. This grand Christian Conference is at once a noble consummation and a joyous prophecy. No assembly of men for a generation, we honestly believe, is to bear more or better fruit. We are not talking much of a Christian union; we are simply having it, enjoying it, and using it for a glorious onset on the kingdom of darkness. Loyal to our denominational distinctions, we are better fitted to be consecrated to all the forms of work for our common Lord, in which all can unite without detriment to distinctively denominational endeavors. We profoundly believe that the world is not growing worse; it never was so good as it is to-day. The church was never so intelligent, so benevolent, and so consecrated as to-day. Laymen are coming forward into positions of prominence and power. The quarter of a century just closed is the most wonderful quarter of a century the world has ever known; a glance at Germany, Italy, Russia, Britain and America will justify this strong statement. Never before were such great political, moral and religious questions earnestly asked and rightfully answered. This is not the devil's world. The hand pierced on Calvary's cross is on the helm of the universe. We are swinging forward into a nobler life. Especially is this true of America. If I am not an optimist, I certainly am no pessimist. No *Miserere* is to be chanted to-day; a *Te Deum* better befits our hearts and lips. The eastern sky is already radiant with the crimson and gold of a brighter day; its sun in meridian splendor will soon flood the world with its supernal glory. The church of the crowned Conqueror over death and the grave is moving forward "conquering and to conquer," and all the foes of Jesus Christ will one day lie in sweet submission at his pierced feet.

To America to-day the eyes of the nations are directed. This land, in all its wonderful history, is marked by peculiar providences

of God. Attention has often been called to the fact that, but for a storm that wrecked a Mohammedan fleet, America might have been discovered by an Oriental nation, and Moslem temples might have covered its virgin soil. But for other marked providences it might have been brought, in its feeble beginning, under the sway of Romanism ; France, Italy and Spain contended for its control. The words of Alexander Hamilton, as recently given by Dr. Harper, spoken in circumstances widely different from these in which we repeat them to-day, are still true as when spoken : "It is ours to be either the grave in which the hopes of the world shall be entombed ; or the pillar of cloud that shall pilot the race onward to its millennial glory. Let us not forget our immortal trust."

It is certainly true that we are, to a considerable degree, to determine the destiny of the world ; it is still true as when Emerson said it, as quoted in "Our Country," that wonderful little volume by Dr. Strong, our honored secretary: "We live in a new and exceptional age. America is another name for Opportunity. Our whole history appears like a last effort of the Divine Providence in behalf of the human race." It is certain that many of the greatest economic, social and religious problems of the present and the future are to be solved in America. The nation which slew and buried the monster, Slavery, after four years of tears and blood, can slay and bury the twin monster, Intemperance. For this work, O Church of the living God, now gird thyself in the might of thy conquering Lord. The conflict is long and bitter. It was begun in Eden ; it shall end in Eden restored. Jesus Christ is king. The seed of the woman shall crush the head of the serpent. Into the glorious warfare the church is now entering afresh "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

THE SALOON.

BY REV. A. G. HAYGOOD, D. D., LL. D., OF GEORGIA.

A large volume would suffice for only a partial discussion of the subject upon which I am asked to read a short paper, "The Saloon," considered as one of the "Perils" that menace our institutions. It is like trying to set forth in a paragraph in the morning paper the combined horrors of war, famine and pestilence. But subjects, vast and manifold, can never be adequately discussed; they can only be talked about, as men talk of the ocean, seeing a little of it from the shore.

My subject is indeed hackneyed, but it is not commonplace; it is a very old theme, but it concerns a very live issue. We are not talking of an evil afar off; it is imminent, ever-present and omnipresent. It is not of an endurable inconvenience that we speak; it is a monstrous and terrible thing—cruel, remorseless, pressing its iron hand hard upon all that is good in human life. This paper considers only an admitted evil; it has not to do with remedies. This, however, is true, and it gives us hope; when once the people really see the evil thing the saloon is, they will find the remedy.

In this discussion "Saloon" stands for the liquor traffic—particularly the retail sale of intoxicating drinks—to which the drunkenness, not only of our own country, but of the civilized world is, confessedly, mostly due. Some consideration of the evils of drunkenness is relevant to a discussion of the "Peril" that lurks in the "Saloon," for the reason that drinking-places create and foster drinking habits. No form of words can over-state the curse that drunkenness brings upon the human race, and no ingenuity of statement can separate drunkenness from the trade that lives upon it. and fosters it that it may live upon it. Allowing that some drinking begins and goes on independently of the

traffic, it remains substantially true that the saloon is responsible for the drunkenness that is in the civilized world, and for all the evils that grow out of it. The defenders of the saloon are wont to dismiss all statements that condemn their trade, with sneers at the fanaticism of temperance cranks. At this place I introduce a few sayings of men who cannot be put aside as fanatics. A volume could not contain the important testimony that might be brought for confirmation. The few presented here are taken from an admirable work entitled, "Alcohol and the State," by Judge Robert C. Pitman, of Massachusetts.

The London *Times:* "The use of strong drink produces more idleness, crime, want and misery than all other causes put together."

Governor Dix of New York, vetoing a local option bill: "Intemperance is the undoubted cause of four-fifths of all the crime, pauperism and domestic misery of the state." With Governor Dix will agree all judges, magistrates, keepers of prisons, directors of hospitals, and superintendents of asylums for the insane, and all others who have to do with the crimes and miseries of men.

Charles Buxton, M. P., the noted English brewer: "If we add together all the miseries generated in our times by war, famine and pestilence—the three great scourges of mankind—they do not exceed those that spring from this one calamity."

Mr. Bruce, Home Secretary under the Gladstone ministry: "Intemperance is not only a great evil, but the greatest of all evils with which social reformers have to contend."

Judge Pitman follows these and many other expressions from eminent and well-informed men with a suggestive reflection: "But to admit a truth is one thing; to realize it, is another. I have for years had a growing conviction that these general and sweeping statements fail to impress, not only the public, but some of the most thoughtful men." He strengthens his position by an apt quotation from Coleridge: "Truths, of all others the most awful and interesting, are too often considered as so true that they lose all the power of truth, and lie bed-ridden in the dormitory of the soul, side by side with the most despised and exploded errors."

In dealing with the saloon, the thing most to be feared is, that the mass of the people do not fear it. We are used to it. As soldiers in war look on wounds and death till they grow hard of heart, so

the people are so familiar with the plague of drunkenness, that they do not realize the ruin it is bringing to everything in our civilization that is good.

We may consider

THE SALOON IN ITS RELATIONS TO BUSINESS AND MONEY-VALUES.

What is business? In the conception of political economy, business is the sum total of a whole people's productive industries and legitimate exchanges. The terms "industries" and "exchanges" are qualified, because real business does not include products that are harmful or exchanges that are without fair equivalents. Making dynamite bombs is not manufacturing; gambling—whether by cards, dice, lotteries, "cotton futures" or "corners" on food supplies, is not trade. A sound political economy excludes the liquor traffic from business, because it is destructive of all other business. As well class vampires among useful animals. Intoxicants do not create or increase productive energy; they add nothing to skill—they destroy. Strong drink is not an aid to progress, it is a hindrance; it is not an engine, it is a brake, retarding movement up the steep grade the human race is trying to climb.

Allowing what little medicine claims for the cure of disease, and what little science and the mechanic arts require, the fact remains, that the liquor traffic in all its branches lives upon the drink-habits of the great and unnumbered multitude that does not use intoxicants as a medicine—that does not use alcohol in the arts. If the traffic depended on medicine and the arts for its profits, the saloon would speedily disappear from civilization. Its occupation would be gone.

The last report of the Secretary of the Treasury gives us a suggestive and illustrative statement. On page 449 is a table giving the "Quantity of distilled spirits of the different kinds known to the trade, produced, withdrawn, and remaining in warehouse in the United States, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886." The totals are, bourbon whisky, 52,442,462 gallons; rye whisky, 21,492,829; alcohol, 11,998,296; rum, 2,469,161; gin, 755,838. How much of this sea of intoxicating liquors did science claim, for the year ending June 30, 1886? The Secretary says: Of bourbon whisky, 7,009 gallons; of rye whisky, none; of alcohol, 20,798 gallons; of rum, none; of gin, none. The rest went through the liquor traffic, that depends on the saloon for its sales and profits.

It comes to this: the money spent for intoxicants is wasted and worse. It means so much taken from legitimate business and so used as to hinder business; it means so much less for what is good, useful and needful.

It does not answer to say the maker and the seller get this money and it is not wasted, it remains in the country. As well say because the swindling lottery managers get rich, their victims have not wasted money. The money that goes for nought is wasted, no matter where it goes.

It is estimated, with good reason, that about 600,000 men are employed in one way and another in the liquor traffic; say one in every one hundred of the whole population. Very high authorities say that the nation's drink bill averages $900,000,000 per annum. Who realizes what such figures mean? As well talk of the distances to the fixed stars! All this money goes to the comparatively few who make and sell intoxicants; all this money comes out of the pockets of the whole people, only one in one hundred of them making any profits out of the vast sum that changes hands. I say whole people and not merely the drinking people, for this great sum of $900,000,000 represents not merely what the drinkers waste; it means also the custom that every other trade has lost. And far more; for if the drinkers can earn somehow $900,000,000 for drink, sober they could earn vastly more for honest trade.

What men pay for their drinks, does not complete the bill of costs the saloon imposes upon the country. I am not speaking of the moral desolations that flow from the saloon over the homes of the people (figures are impotent here); I am considering the lowest values—money values. Dr. William Hargreaves, in a work issued by the National Temperance Society, justly adds to what is paid for drinks, what should be charged to "consequential damages" against the saloon—that under legal sanction exists by the will of the people it oppresses and robs. To the drink bill, add the loss to productive industry of the persons employed in the traffic, and of habitual drunkards; add the cost of supporting drink-made paupers, lunatics and criminals; add the cost of police and of the criminal courts, most of which drunkenness makes necessary; and of the entire enginery society employs, in a wholly inadequate and nearly hopeless way, in its irresolute and hesitating effort to protect itself against the saloon, and to support the burdens it imposes—and we have a total of nearly $2,000,000,000. The

saloon and its issues cost the country this vast sum; that is, waste it, and worse.

We seem to live in a period of contradictions. It is a period of productive enterprise in nearly all directions; the world was never so busy, never worked so hard, never earned so much. But suffering increases. We need not go theorizing to find explanations; $900,000,000 wasted for drink; as much more lost through the results of drink; these are not leaks in a dam, they are crevasses when the Mississippi is at high flood. Inundations follow. In these facts is explanation enough of hard times, suffering and discontent, in a period when labor gets better wages than it ever got before, when money can buy more good things than it could ever buy before. If what wage-earners alone waste in saloons were used to buy useful commodities, hard times would cease. Business would have in it such life, health and equilibrium that the desperate gamblers of Wall Street could not organize a panic. Not every wrong that pinches labor is due to the saloon; labor has a just complaint against exacting and oppressive monopolies, but if labor were free from the saloon tax, every other evil could be borne, or remedied. The statistics of crime, pauperism, ignorance and lunacy, in every state of the Union and in every civilized country, sustain and enforce these conclusions.

THE RELATION OF THE SALOON TO POLITICS

is a large theme. It is only custom that makes the existence of the saloon possible in a free country. If from the beginning our nation had been free from the saloon in politics, and it should come down upon us in a day, it would convulse the people with indignant and expulsive energy. Every country neighborhood would rise in wrath against the mortal foe of good government. A million foreign soldiers, landing at Hampton Roads and marching on the Capital, would not shock or stir the people more profoundly. If done for the first time, no community, great or small, would recognize or submit to the issues of any election for any office conducted under the auspices and determined by the power of the saloon. But we do submit to such things—submit without a word.

Through the generations we have been growing used to the saloon in politics. It has come to be like a life-long lameness—a part of the cripple's life. He does not mind it; he can hardly get on

without it; soundness of limb would bereave him. All along in our nation's history, as in the history of other countries, there has been a feeling of unrest in society, in relation to the liquor traffic. There has been an instinct apprehending peril, and vaguely and often blindly seeking to protect itself. This is the meaning of all the restrictive and regulative legislation from 1636, when Plymouth Colony enacted a feeble statute, licensing and seeking to hold in check a trade that even then was felt to be hurtful. Very much in the spirit of the old colonists, society has gone on for two hundred and fifty years, gravely piling up little sand-heaps, imagined to be dykes, against a rising and angry sea.

To state fully the evil power of the saloon in our politics, requires a knowledge of the evil thing and its ways that no good and honest man can have. The saloon people understand their power, and use it to the utmost. Some years ago, a bar-keeper in Richmond, Va., heard some talk of a reform movement in municipal politics. He laughed it to scorn, and declared his faith in his god: "Any bar-room in Richmond is a bigger man in politics, than all the churches in Richmond put together." A leading senator, who was not a Prohibitionist, but who had voted against the insolent demands of the whisky ring, said to me in this city three winters ago: "Men talk of the power of banks, railroads and other great corporations in Congressional lobbies; I tell you, the hardest ring to stand up against is the liquor ring." Seeing what the liquor power has accomplished in national and state legislation; how it challenges the respectful attention of the great parties, and has always done it; how it manipulates municipal governments, whether in great cities or interior villages; how it packs legislatures, town-councils and juries; how it subsidizes what newspapers it wants, or, when it cannot hire, sets up its own; seeing how desperately hard it is to resist, and how often and completely it wins—there seems to be reason in the senator's conclusion.

It may well be so. The liquor power has vast resources, and its profits are so great it can well afford a lavish use of money. It is directed by shrewd men, ripe in evil wisdom, and they know how to put their money where it will do the most good. They are unscrupulous, and hesitate at nothing they dare. Conscious of their power, they will dare most things.

As long as men are weak or wicked, the liquor power endured

will buy or compel what it wants. Our tyrant has every opportunity ; the universal diffusion of the saloon secures an active, interested, potent ally, in every precinct. Elective affinities bring to the saloon, and into the circle of its despotic influence, the very men it needs—the men who cast their ballots with the least intelligence, the least conscience and for the lowest price. A pauper drunkard who can stand up long enough to deposit his ballot, counts as much as the Chief Justice. This statement does not revile our principle of universal suffrage, but it does show how necessary it is to guard so great a power from perversions so easily accomplished.

Mr. R. D. Locke (Petroleum V. Nasby), who knows men and the methods of the liquor power better than most observers, states the case with conclusive force and clearness. Some of his strong statements I quote at this point:

"The loss to the country in the amount of money actually paid for intoxicants, and, consequently, worse than lost, is the least of the evils resulting from it, and consequently the least important reason for prohibition. A far more important reason is the infernal part it plays in politics. In Toledo, with 90,000 population, there are 800 whisky and beer shops. The vote of the city is 15,000. Now, these shops will average two votes each, the proprietor and one assistant, which makes a total of 1,600. This is a tremendous power, especially as it is wielded by one head. All these men belong to the Liquor Dealers' Association, and act together. These men have no principles. They are not divided upon tariff, currency and other questions; politics is part of their business, and their vote is cast as one, that it may be made profitable. They are in a business that everybody looks upon as disreputable; they are in it to make money, and they care not how they make it. In party contests this power has two points to make. First, to demonstrate that it is a power which is not to be meddled with. No matter whether the candidate aims at the Presidency, a seat in Congress, a school directorship, or a park commissionership, the first question the Liquor Dealers' Association asks, is, Is he a temperance man? If he is, the whole power of the organization is turned against him. They want it understood that no one can be elected to any place of honor or profit without their help. The showing of this power ensures them against such troublesome interference as the enactment of early-closing laws, Sunday closing,

large taxation, and above all, prohibition. They aim at the control of the law-making power as well as the law-executing power.

"Secondly, they want their places to be made the center of political management, the places where committees meet, and from whence money used in the elections is to be dispensed. From this money they take their toll, as a matter of course."

Mr. Locke shows that if, to the 1,600 men immediately engaged in saloon-keeping in Toledo, there is added the men who are in collateral trades and who are directly influenced by them, there will be a total equal to nearly half the entire vote of the city. Who can gainsay his conclusion? "It is a power which can and does control the cities of the country. Parties vie with each other in bidding for the saloon vote, nominations are made with sole reference to it, and this unholy power would become the government, but for the counteracting influence in the country, which is yet, to some extent, free from its dominion."

Could not every city and large town in the country furnish confirmations of the foregoing statements?

One illustration, startling and instructive, I offer. It is taken from a recent official report made to the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Tennessee. The committee was "appointed to ascertain the number of liquor dealers in the state, and the amount of revenue due, and the amount paid to the state by liquor dealers." In the introductory statements of the committee, preceding their appalling columns of statistics, occurs this paragraph:

"We have been reliably informed that in a certain district of the state the present Judge and Attorney-General were supported in their election by whisky dealers, with the express understanding that they should not be prosecuted for not taking out a state license to sell whisky, or, if prosecuted, that the fine, if any at all, should be nearly nominal."

The committee naïvely add: "In this case, as in all others of delinquent payers, the clerk should issue a distress warrant and take immediate steps to collect such tax due the state." As if the bad thing they discovered was the loss of revenue! What sort of distress warrant should the outraged people issue in such a case?

THE SALOON AND MORALS.

It is enough to name this part of the subject. As well repeat the multiplication table here, as to argue that the saloon fosters vice and breaks down virtue—fosters every vice and breaks down every virtue of which man is capable. The vilest vender of liquor knows this, and, when he speaks truly, does not deny it. The saloon recognizes its evil nature ; it never pleads the good it does as a reason for existence. It has absolutely but one motive—money-getting ; it lives on men's weaknesses and vices ; it makes men weak and bad, that it may extend its trade and increase its gains. Its greed is insatiable and pitiless ; it adulterates what it sells with drugs, and makes the thirst of its victims a mere animal rage, that overturns the reason, sears the conscience and paralyzes the will.

We are considering the "Saloon as a Peril" to our institutions. It does not need argument to show that whatever impairs or destroys the morals of the people, impairs and destroys whatever is good in their institutions.

Certain conditions that obtain in our national life at this time increase the power of the saloon to do its work of ruin.

It is not too much to say that we live at a time when opportunity is only equaled by the perils that come with it. History has no parallel for the marvelous growth of our nation in all the elements of material greatness. Ours is a vast country, with resources unmatched in any part of the world.

Our territory is filling up with all sorts of people from all countries. Presently there will be a hundred millions of us—at no distant period, twice a hundred millions. With the immigrants flocking to our shores are many of the excellent of the earth, and they are welcome; among them come thousands who bring us only evil, and every kind of evil. These have no ideas or sympathies in common with the genius of our institutions. There is nothing in them in harmony with those influences and principles of life that have made us a great people; they come with notions and feelings hostile to what is truly characteristic and good in our national life. The worst elements in this foreign life gravitate to the saloon as soon as it reaches our shores. It is in sympathy with the saloon, and, as all men know, in the large cities and towns the foreign element is the surest support of the liquor traffic. In the large

cities there are few elections that the saloon and its foreign vote cannot control. The bad element in the foreign life that is steadily flowing in upon us, the saloon only makes worse. And every evil tendency, native and imported, is by the intensity of our American life forced into more rapid development than would be possible in a lower and less eager country. The saloon aggravates all. In

the saloon has a rare opportunity for its evil work; it has made the most of it. Emancipation brought great blessings to both races, but it also brought new responsibilities and new dangers. The negro race in slavery was a sober race. As a rule, under the old régime, they could not get intoxicants; for them prohibition was enforced. Emancipation opened the saloons to them. The life-long restraint seemed to make them eager to exercise their freedom in whisky buying. Of the lower order of saloons in the Southern States the negroes are steady customers. They buy cheap liquors, and therefore the worst. The mass of them are very poor, and dram-drinking keeps them poor. They are ignorant and easily imposed on. The saloonist knows their weaknesses and uses them for his ends; he is master now.

In this case the exception illustrates if it does not prove the rule. The press despatches, giving the result of the recent election in Atlanta, Ga., were evidently not written by a hand over-partial to the Prohibitionists. The despatches dwelt upon the fact that the saloon vote prevailed in every precinct in Fulton County but one, "the South Bend District." The reporter felt that an explanation was due the country, and he added: "In this district is located Clark University, a school for colored people, and the result in this district is attributable to the colored students."

As a rule, the saloons may count on a solid vote from the uneducated colored vote. The uneducated white vote is little if any more to be depended on by reformers. But there are more than six millions of negroes in the Southern States, and thinking people will consider what possibilities of mischief their condition gives to the saloon in politics.

Whatever is weak or bad in our institutions the saloon uses for its profit, and by using makes worse. The best things in our national life are unfriendly to the saloon, and it seeks steadily their overthrow. The saloon hates the Sabbath, because Christian con-

science makes Sunday dram-selling illegal and punishable. It wants more of Saturday night's wages than Saturday night's trade affords. The saloon is the natural enemy of the home; if boys are contented at home, they will not spend their time and money in drink-houses. It is the enemy of education, for education abridges its power to delude the people. It is, by instinct, the enemy of the church, for religion does not patronize it nor make peace with it. It hates the Bible, as the inspiration of every movement towards enlightening and lifting up its victims.

The more carefully they inquire into the subject, the more clearly will the true lovers of free institutions, of virtue and religion, see that in the saloon is a great peril to all they hold dear—a peril only, and that continually.

THE CHAIRMAN: It may add something to the force and significance of what Dr. Haygood has said with reference to the negro vote of the South, to state that he is very familiar with the effects of intoxicating liquors upon the negroes. He is the general agent of the "John F. Slater Fund," which devotes the proceeds of a million of dollars annually, to the education of the negroes of the South.

MORNING SESSION.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8.

The session was opened with devotional exercises, conducted by Rev. J. G. Butler, D. D., of Washington, and Rev. L. T. Chamberlain, D. D., of Brooklyn. Justice Harlan, of the Supreme Court, presided.

The Chairman: The subject of the first paper to be read this morning is "Perils to the Family," a subject that ought to be one of interest to every citizen of our country: for what concerns the family, concerns not only the safety of the civil government, but in large measure the safety of the church. I take pleasure in presenting to the Conference the Rev. S. W. Dike, of Auburndale, Mass.

PERILS TO THE FAMILY.

BY REV. S. W. DIKE, OF AUBURNDALE, MASS.

SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL DIVORCE REFORM LEAGUE.

I am to make a few suggestions on a subject too great to be fairly outlined in a brief paper.

The object of our study is the simple family of Christian civilization. The essentials of this family are one man and one woman, united in wedlock, together with their children. Other persons may be connected with them by ties of kindred or of service, or this simplest form of the family may become a fragment through the losses of death. But these are accidental relations or natural deficiencies. We are now to deal with the simple, ideal family, which we all hold to be the true family of nature and Christian civilization.

Though it would be agreeable, and even necessary to a complete view of the case, to turn to more hopeful aspects of the subject, the terms of the theme confine us to the *perils* of this family. Let it also be kept in mind that we have nothing to do here with either the optimistic or pessimistic views as such. It is our present duty to make a simple statement of facts, with some attempt to put them where their deeper meanings can be seen. It may be interesting, and in some degree profitable, to know whether the family life of our people, as a whole or in sections of the country, is better or worse than it was twenty years ago; but the inquiry does not seem to me to be of very great practical use. For, after all we may gain from that point of view, very little light is thrown upon the more important question that is really before us. That question is this:

Is the family in this country where it should be? Has it the integrity and ability to do its appropriate work, and to do this under the peculiar strain modern society is putting upon it? Before this inquiry, all question as to the comparative strength of the family of to-day

and of a hundred or less years ago must retreat to a subordinate place in our study.

The main reasons for this Conference, if I understand them, rest on the conviction that our social life is putting all the forces of our Christian civilization to the test, and that the time has come to measure the perils and examine our resources. We want better churches, better schools, better industrial organizations, and better political institutions; and, as will be seen, I trust, before this paper closes, we want better families as the very foundation of nearly all the rest; and accordingly, we ask, Is the family where it should be? Has it been studied and guarded and used and improved even as the churches and schools have been?

I. *The perils of the family considered by itself.* That is, let us first look at the family merely as one of the things in society—simply as a social product, if you please—and see what its perils are. The United States have ten or twelve millions of families. In round numbers, half a million of these are produced every year, through that number of marriages. Now, what is our success in this most important production? We will take substantially the tests used to determine the success of any business. Everybody, no matter what his opinions may be on ways and means of solution of the problems involved with our subject, will agree that the great ends of our domestic institutions are best served, and that they come nearest their intended objects, when the following chief conditions are most fully met:

First, the number of families annually formed in happy marriages among the adult population of proper age in a country, will bear a high ratio to that population. Secondly, they will be reasonably fruitful in well-reared children, and in the perfected character of the parents through the home life. And thirdly, they will continue pure and strong until the natural end of the union which gave them being, in the death of either husband or wife. I think you can take these conditions, with the careful qualifications which are to be understood as going with them, before any set of people of common intelligence and morality you may meet, and command unqualified consent to their justness. When these conditions are not met, there is something wrong, as every manufacturer, every producer of any sort in the land, as well as the student of vital statistics, can easily see.

Let us apply the last test first, as that is the one most usual,

especially in vital statistics. What proportion of the national product of families meets an untimely end? Take those which are judicially dissolved. I regret that I must write several months before the results of the important investigation into the statistics of and relating to marriage and divorce, ordered by the last Congress, can be known. But let me give some facts that we do know, with more or less completeness of detail, concerning fifteen or more states and territories. In two or three of them the divorces have never risen to five per cent of the marriages for the same period. In a few they have been between five and ten per cent. In some three or four they have been repeatedly as high as ten per cent, and there is good reason to believe that in California, and perhaps in other states or territories, they have reached twelve or even fourteen per cent of the marriages.

Now these facts amount to a practical confession that five, ten, twelve, and even fourteen per cent of the families in certain large communities are beyond the reach of all Christian or philanthropic or civil means of relief, and the only thing that can now be done is for the state to put them out of the way, somewhat as ancient society used to relieve itself of its defective classes, or to set free persons who have failed in one or more marriages, to make a new experiment. And to this percentage actually granted to show the extent of the disease, we must add a fourth to represent those whose petitions for divorce are denied, though these do not all belong exactly to the class I am speaking of. But we must add something, and a good deal larger figure than those who have not looked into this particular phase may guess, to cover the numbers of families dissolved by desertion and other means without legal process. In some cities and towns, investigation shows that considerable numbers discard the legal steps out of one marriage into another, and that illicit unions as substitutes for marriage are of dangerous frequency. This practice is not unknown in country towns.

Here, then, in many communities, through the courts or in open disregard of law, something fatal to the very existence of the family occurs to from one-tenth to one-fifth of the families, before they have lived one-half of their appointed years.

But what shall we find when we add to this number those other families where the formal existence is continued, but among whom unchastity, adultery, intemperance, cruelty and other loveless rela-

tions have robbed domestic life of its virtue and made many unions a living death? Here statistics fail. We can only observe and reflect on that which forces itself upon our minds.

The declining fruitfulness of the family—to take up the second test—especially among people of the so-called native stock, has become a matter of serious concern. In Massachusetts, the mother of foreign birth has on the average fifty per cent more children than the mother born in this country. It is true that the death-rate among children of foreign parentage is much greater than among the others, but after all allowance for this, the parent of foreign birth rears a much larger percentage of children than the other. And notwithstanding the presence of the foreign element, the birth-rate in some of the older states is lower than in most European countries, and is steadily declining. France is the only country in Europe whose birth-rate is as low as that of Massachusetts, and France is alarmed at her condition. Massachusetts is indifferent. For she can still recruit her population from Ireland and Canada. But other states are doubtless just as badly off. No well informed physician believes that this low birth-rate is to any great degree due to loss in reproductive powers, though there is something in this—more, however, as effect than as cause of a declining birth-rate. In three or four sections, and these are large enough to be seriously indicative, the physicians are of the opinion that legitimate children would be fifty per cent more numerous but for criminal deeds. This refers to all classes of people as a whole. In some of our cities, and among intelligent and even Christian people, and very widely too in rural communities, it looks as if there is a prevalent and growing intention, even at the cost, if need be, both of good morals and law, to let the inferior classes rear most of the children. Many of the families which are best fitted so far as pecuniary means and social opportunity are concerned, are deliberately choosing to be unfruitful. And it is the testimony of gynæcologists that more of their patients come from this class than from those women to whom maternity has brought its natural ills.

We must not shut our eyes to the fact that there is a very strong tendency among us to turn over the work of rearing the children who are to be the parents of the next century, to the classes who are least fitted for the task, and that we are thus greatly adding to the burdens of state and church. The so-called dangerous classes

multiply. We accept the increase and try to care for it, but without seeking to cleanse the fountain or to increase the forces of the good through the laws of nature as well as by special grace.

It is difficult to speak now with confidence on the marriage-rate, for most of the states publish no trustworthy statistics, and this rate rises and falls within certain periods following the fluctuations of business and other social disturbances. But in the older communities it is probably steadily declining. There is also an undoubted increase in cities, and probably elsewhere, of those who deliberately forsake marriage for illicit relations.

The paper that is to follow will deal with the vice that touches the physical basis of the family. I will simply say, that our general failure to look at this subject squarely and frankly, our popular disregard of its true point of view—from the family as well as from the individual—and forgetfulness of its effect on the most sacred and organic relations, take this vice entirely out of the ordinary categories and make its perils far greater than those of other vices, as judged through any ordinary comparisons by count of instances.

The evil of divorce has increased with alarming rapidity within twenty or thirty years. In some states the greatest increase has taken place within twenty years. In some it has reached a high rate, and now increases slowly or not at all. And in these it has permeated very thoroughly all classes outside the churches, and made sad inroads in the church itself. I incline to think that the divorce-rate in this country, in most states, is double what it was thirty or even less years ago. It certainly has doubled in Europe within that period, though the highest rate there is only five per cent of the marriages. But here, unlike the case in Europe, the highest rates in many of the states are not to be found in the largest cities, but in rural counties. Intelligent New England has repeatedly granted over 2,000 in a single year, and Ohio alone has nearly reached that number. The evils of democracies seem democratic in their hold on the people. The Roman Catholic population everywhere, probably, and the foreign population generally in the East, is comparatively free from divorces. But in the West the foreign element, especially the non-Catholic, seems to vie with the rest in the resort to courts. There is, also, reason to think that heedless marriages, a decrease in the whole number of marriages and of children, with an increase in illegiti-

mate births, and a great increase in the various offenses against chastity, have accompanied the increase of divorces.

I have no time to speak of Mormon polygamy. It is hardly necessary to do so; for it is simply an open and defiant challenge of the monogamous family in theory and practice. Its very nature and gross concentration make its evils obvious, and really less of a menace to our social order than the secret sapping of the theory of the family through the silent working of divorce and these other evils, from their general diffusion.

Looking, then, at the family, simply as a product of society, we find grave perils. They vary in different states. In some, divorces are notoriously frequent; in others, disorderly marriages and the like are more numerous than the divorces, and divorces tend to increase in those states formerly most free from them. With the increase of common interests all the states suffer through the evils of any one. Comparisons are of little use among ourselves or with Europe, whose social morality affects us more deeply every year. We have seen enough to know that our own society falls far short, in producing a maximum of sound families that attain those great objects, and reach that natural end which marks the termination of a successful life.

The present state of the law that regulates and protects the family is a very great source of danger. Our marriage laws are simply inadequate. Compare the legal protection of the family with that given to real estate. Every woman who owns real property finds ample legal protection. She may have a bond for a deed. The written deed duly made out, with the assurance of a perfect title, signed, sealed, witnessed and fully recorded, with every transfer properly noted, so that not only those immediately concerned, but the entire public, may know at any time the exact legal condition of every piece of real estate in the land, with laws aimed at protection against fraud, abuse of trust, theft, incendiarism and other injuries—and reasonably well enforced too—these are the protections which every woman has for her property. But her hold on the family in marriage is a very different thing. In more than one-third of the states and territories a marriage is legal without a scrap of writing, or a witness, or even the intervention of an official of any sort. No decent system of public record exists in many states, while very few both keep and publish these records. Where licenses are required, the mere word or the

oath of an interested party is the basis of the permit, and no evidence is demanded to prove freedom from a former marriage. We have to take the people who move into our communities, and the immigrants from Europe, simply on trust in respect to their domestic ties; and this is frequently shamefully abused. And our laws protecting chastity are probably less frequently enforced than those of any other class, unless we except those in defense of the Sabbath. The legal protection of property is infinitely superior to that of the family.

Our divorce laws are almost as various as the number of legislatures that make them. Divorces can be obtained for a dozen legal causes in some states, and they are often made elastic enough to cover every conceivable reason for divorce. They can be obtained in 2,700 courts in the United States, and in some legislatures besides. These courts sit frequently, and sometimes constantly, in open court or private chambers. The procedure is often so easy that fraud is frequent; and disregard of the rights of others, haste and the eager hurry to marry another, can be readily gratified, and in some states divorce can be had by either husband or wife, almost for the asking. The conflicting marriage and divorce laws of the country have less to do with the increase of divorces than most people think, but they are a great evil in their opportunities for fraud, and in the uncertainty they give to the legal status of the married or divorced, as they pass from state to state, and of their children. And not the least of the evils is their effect on the popular ideas of what marriage and the family are. And then the national government has allowed the crude territorial legislatures to make their own laws on this subject, and these in many cases stamp upon a future state an exceedingly loose system of domestic law. This has been done; while Congress is directly responsible for the laws of the District of Columbia, whose effects have long been an offense to her best citizens, and against whose compulsory administration high-minded judges have inwardly revolted, and sometimes openly complained. Congress has regulated marriage and divorce in Utah, but neglects Dakota and the Capital of the country.

If the condition of public law be an indication of social condition, and it is usually so regarded, I do not believe there is any considerable civilized people in the world that is taking so great risks with the family as we are in these United States. Property

is carefully protected. The individual, especially woman as an individual, has increasing security. But there have been no corresponding gains in the laws of the family. As a whole, with the notable exception of modifying the family law of property to suit the demand of the individual in the interests of property, we are about where we were fifty years ago in family law; before railroads, factories, telegraphs, daily newspapers, foreign immigration, and a silent change of the basis of the defenses of morality from the authoritative and dogmatic to the more purely natural and rational grounds, had wrought a tremendous social revolution. As a mere matter of fact, the old defenses of our domestic life are proving weak before the new social strain upon them.

But we have not yet taken the real measure of these perils. Let us take another point of view.

II. *The perils of the family considered from its relations to the social order.* The family is *historically* the germ of all other social institutions. The history of the rise and growth of religious institutions gives large place to the story of their development from the family. Political institutions—village, community, town, city, state, nation—have come out of the family, as the oak springs from the acorn. The early and later history of property is intimately connected with that of the family, and the whole modern industrial system is largely an expansion from the domestic industrial order, and profoundly connected with the family. Educational institutions are no exception to the rule. All the great modern social institutions have primarily drawn their life from the family. The two most distinct products of modern society are probably the individual, and his liberty of contract. But as Sir Henry S. Maine, the great English historical jurist, shows us, these have come at the expense of the family and status through property, as the great instrument of the movement. As the individual and the principle of contract have grown, the family and status have shrunk correspondingly from their old place in law.

Now if the family were nothing more than the historic germ of the other institutions, we might safely let go of it, as we gain the higher and broader development, just as the full-grown oak can spare the acorn. But we cannot do this. For the family is the abiding element in them all, and of society as a whole. In the

process of their growth it becomes the all-pervading tissue that constantly enters into the entire fabric, and builds up and supports every part of it. In a highly organized society, the home receives and distributes to the individual the inspiration and power of religion, and then it sends back to the church its own religious strength or weakness. No other agency does more fundamental, probably no other does so much good work as the family, toward the instruction and practice of those principles of obedience, order, self-restraint, regard for others, and self-sacrifice, which go to make good citizens and good rulers. No other factor enters more largely into the industrial problems of the times than the home. Scarcely any other single element of wealth has, when taken in the aggregate, the economic importance of the home. And after all that may be said in behalf of our system of common schools, the family yet remains the source of a great and invaluable part of our education. Or, to sum up in the words of Professor H. B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins, who has done so much for the study of social institutions in this country: "The family, oldest of institutions, perpetually reproduces the ethical history of man, and continually reconstructs the constitution of society. All students of sociology should grasp this radical truth, and should also remember that the school and college, town and city, state and nation are, after all, but modified types of family institutions, and that a study of the individual elements of social and political life is a true method of advancing sociology and politics in general." I do not fear contradiction from any competent scholar in political science when I say that the study of the single family on its homestead would yield richer scientific knowledge and more practical results in the great social sciences, than almost any other single object in the social world. Pursued historically, the student would find himself at the roots of property, separate ownership of land, inheritance, rent, taxation, free trade and tariff, and discover the germs of international law and the state. The great questions of the day, as we call them, are little more than incidents to the working of the great social institutions; and these, we have already seen, are the expansions and modified forms of the family, amid its unceasing support and activity. "Sociology," the late Dr. Mulford used to say, "is the coming science, and the family holds the key to it." "The family," he also wrote, "is the most important question that has come before the American people since the war." It is of this institution that

we are so careless in law and practice. No statistics can measure the dangers of trifling with this element of social vitality. With the problems of a young nation on our hands, with these amid the seething waters of our times, and with European populations and European problems pouring in upon us, our fundamental institution is too weak for the storm and stress that are upon us. A good family, if it be an average family, or even if it be the best family any nation possesses, is not good enough for us. Peril here exists if the strain is telling at all. And how much it is telling, we may learn from the records of our divorces, and from the sadder facts of daily observation.

III. The *misuse and misapprehension* of the family are a source of peril. When any social institution enters so universally into the whole structure of society, and does so large a share of its work as the family, misuse, whether in positively erroneous forms of activity, or in neglect to secure proper exercise of natural functions, is perilous in the extreme, and all the more so, because the evil is subtle and escapes observation. Now, it is almost impossible that the growth of modern civilization can have gone on with its steady increase in the surrender of power and offices from the family to the other institutions of society, and especially that the great work of bringing the individual into that larger place now given to both man and woman, can have been accomplished without marked effect upon the strength of the family. This movement has undoubtedly been essential to human welfare, and within due limits it is entirely wholesome. By it the family is continually reinforced and reinvigorated for its own work from the state, the church, the school and industrial society. But the trouble lies in getting beyond the line of safety, or in violating the law of social proportion. If the family does not have its full share in care and use during this social development; if interest in other institutions turn activities away from it; if its great essential functions—those which it cannot surrender, even in the highest stage of civilization—fall into neglect or be wrongly exercised, there is danger both for the family and all the other institutions with it.

I think historical and comparative study of the various social institutions will show that just here is one of the weak points in our modern society. Two or three references will serve to illustrate this, in respect to the practical uses of the family. The remarkable growth of the Sunday-school, for one instance,

as a means of the religious training of the young, and latterly, of all ages, has clearly not been attended by a *corresponding* advance in the religious work of the family. It may have carried this work of the family beyond what it was in the infancy of the Sunday-school; but the gain, if it exists, has been incidental, and not a direct result of conscious aim. But the improvement in the religious uses of the home has made nothing like the great advance of the church through the Sunday-school. This century, and the last score or two of years especially, not to say the last dozen years, have witnessed a marvelous succession of useful measures for the more vigorous prosecution of the work of the Christian church. But they have generally been devices for the better use of the local church, in some form of assembly or collection of people, and for affiliated Christian effort on the same principle. Conference, association, congress, are the words we hear in ecclesiastical circles. Get people together, is the cry, if you would do them any good. But there has been no such effort and ingenuity put forth in behalf of the family. Almost nothing has been done in this direction until within a very few years; the home studies of Chautauqua and Miss Ticknor of Boston, the more recent home department of the Sunday-school, and the profoundly significant philanthropic methods lately adopted in New York and other cities, by which the home is made the center of preventive and reformatory work, have been initiated with great promise for the future. The collective forms of work must always have a large place, but it is dangerous to give them the whole place. It has the serious limitation of its nature in that it always rests on the possibility of getting enough people together for its objects. And it has positively bad effects, in so far as it blinds the church to its own crying need of religious activity in the home, and to the suffering of the family for want of it. The evangelization of the entire population of the country, by the attempt to put a church, depending mainly on various forms of congregational activity, within easy reach of everyone in city or rural district, is not, perhaps, quite a physical impossibility, but it is and must be a sociological failure. For sociology clearly shows, if I understand its lesson on this point, that the human race acts in three great kinds of collection—in families, in local assemblies of the people, and in representative bodies; and that is the most successful social order in which every one of these three kinds of collection receives its full

care, and is made to do its full work for the great social body. The great peoples of civilization have succeeded or failed in proportion to the nearness of their conformity to this social principle. And it is our danger that we are looking to two of these social forms more than we are to the other, which is scientifically first and fundamental, and we are doing this while more than half our people live in country towns, and, probably, nearly one-third of these beyond easy access to a church.

This is the case in religion. It is too much so in education and philanthropy Unless we see to it that the educational functions of the home are more carefully developed, and a closer co-operation between home and school is secured for their common work, a far more real grievance will exist, and in most influential quarters too, than the Roman Catholics think they now have. The family also suffers from neglect in our reformatory work. We look too far away from it for the chief sources of poverty, intemperance and crime, and we begin our reforms too far down the stream we seek to cleanse. Of course, in the interactions of society, the same thing is often at once both cause and effect. If the saloon poisons the home, it is also to be remembered that the home often makes the saloon welcome. Close the saloons and you help, but will not cure the thirst of a bad home; but make healthy homes, and you do much to shut the saloons and dry up most of their springs. When we learn to use our statistics more scientifically, and trace out together the several contributing causes of crime, distinguishing more between the proximate and the real, and give each its place, and mark its relative value, there is little doubt that we shall find that the immoralities of sex, and the other evils of defective family life, have more to do with crime, and very likely, poverty, than even the monster evil of intemperance.* There is a vast deal of misdirected and, therefore, wasted philanthropic work in this country, for want of a sound, working knowledge of the place of the family and its home, in the work of building society. This appears also in the study of industrial problems, where even the eager pursuit of political economy as a science,

*The inspector of the causes of crime, for England and Wales, has estimated that intemperance and licentiousness have about an equal share in the crimes of those countries. One of our most eminent statisticians and experts in criminal and other social statistics in the United States has given it as his opinion that licentiousness is the most powerful cause of crime in this country.

has yet but here and there brought its students to see the economic value of the home; while the measure of it as an industrial factor is, so far as I know, yet wholly unattempted.

In connection with the celebration of the seventieth birthday of Mommsen, it has been said, in explanation of his success as a Roman historian, that Mommsen has had the insight and comprehensiveness to conceive of the history as the outgrowth of institutions. It is just this insight into the place and work of the elementary social institutions that the American mind needs in order to understand our great perils and their reforms. For I suppose that if there is any one moral lesson taught by Roman history, and indeed, by the history of all the great Aryan peoples, it is that religion is the source and the soul of all social power, and the family is its first great place of development, and remains its stronghold so long as national vigor continues. It may almost be held as the fundamental law of civilization. All disregard of it is especially dangerous when political power is lodged in the hands of the people.

The family has not been studied as other institutions have been, particularly in a way to reach the teachers of the people. When we think of the great mass of literature on the nature and work of the church, the Sunday-school, the common school and higher education, on political and economic problems, and compare this with what we have on the family, we shall readily see that we are in peril for want of both elementary and thorough means of study. We have no treatise on the family like that of Mulford on the Nation, and the class of books which it represents. Whoever studies the family will find very few books bearing very directly on this subject. I have found it difficult to point pastors and others to many good books within their means, out of which they could get more than a chapter here and there; and still more in speaking on the family, because the larger portion, even of the graduates of our colleges and seminaries, are almost wholly ignorant of the chief elements in the science of the family and social institutions. The universities, among which Johns Hopkins deserves pre-eminent notice, and some of the law schools, are far in advance of those institutions which train most of our ministers.

May I say, in conclusion, that it seems to me there is an important work for the Alliance in co-operation with other agencies in meeting these perils of the family. The facts, as they appear in

the records of our courts, in social and criminal statistics generally, and in the state of our laws, can be brought before the people. These can be made clear and forcible in a better popular knowledge of the place and work of the family in society. And the results of a broader study and wider range of reading in the historical and comparative lines of scientific sociology can be made intelligible and even popular. The National Divorce Reform League has aimed to open these sources of knowledge, and most gratifying results have attended the work. But there is a very great work for the Alliance also. It has the ear of the churches, and will have it within its own far-reaching plans.

I venture to urge a greater intimacy between those who are known distinctively as Christian teachers and the scholars in the great social sciences. I think those who have had a considerable familiarity, both with ecclesiastical meetings and the papers read before them, and with the kind of work they see done by scientific men in the departments of social science, or whose personal acquaintance has let them into the thinking and work of the two classes of minds, cannot but have been struck with one or two things. The two classes of men are at work more and more upon what are ultimately the same problems, and are moved more and more by a common spirit. Another impression is, that the two are not in close enough relations to each other. And a third is that the methods and ways of getting at things are too different. The study of social institutions, the uses of the historical and comparative methods, and the movement towards more scientific statistics, have wrought great changes in the last fifteen or twenty years in material, methods and results, which no clergyman who deals with the family or any other social problem can ignore, without constant exposure to mistakes he cannot afford to risk making.

If this Alliance can become the means of bringing about these closer relations between the great rank and file of the Christian ministry and laymen on the one hand, and our scholars and special students, who are mostly earnest Christians, on the other hand, it will do a great work for the people. The pastor—whose work and years take him away from institutions of learning, and from those intimacies with scholars and business men of great affairs which do so much for those who can live among them—needs something which the periodical press, even though he get at the more helpful reviews which have sprung up so plentifully within a half-dozen

years, cannot do for him. A medium of communication for the circulation of tracts, essays, reports of work and investigation, references to literature on the family and the home, not to speak of other important matters, will soon find itself well used. For one, I want to see this special problem of the family, with its perils, its needs, and its great possibilities, brought before the Christians and citizens of the whole country as only combined and systematic effort can do it.

The Chairman: The subject of the next paper is "The Social Vice." This subject may not in some of its aspects be a very agreeable one, but as what will be said will affect or bear upon the very existence of our social organizations, it would be well to consider thoughtfully what Colonel Greene may have to say upon this subject.

THE SOCIAL VICE.

BY COL. J. L. GREENE, OF HARTFORD, CONN.

The preliminary step in every form of intellectual activity is the search for the unit of the subject-matter on which it is to be exercised. The more evidently is this the case as the subject-matter rises in the scale of complexity and importance. Every workable theory of its development, every fruitful body of thought concerning it, every proposed scheme of treatment or of action involving it, originates in and takes its direction from some knowledge or some conception of that ultimate, irreducible, microcosmic form of the matter in question, of which its total bulk is but the multiple and aggregate. Such knowledge or such conception is the material of which we build; it is the guide to our processes; it is the test of success, and it is itself tested by the degree in which all the problems into which it is supposed to enter can be resolved into its formula of elements.

Man's dealing with himself is no exception to the rule. Every study of his own abilities and capacities, and every theory of his relations, rest upon some simple and elemental view of himself in which all these are potentially present if not yet in action. Owing, perhaps, to the individual pressure of our wants, to that unsearchable mystery and certainty of individual free will, and to its inseparable consequent, individual responsibility, and, in general, to that which constitutes personality, that view is usually the individual one. Our theories of the political and social and economic state, and even of the kingdom of heaven, usually refer to the individual man, his powers, his rights, his wants, his capacities. Humanity in any of its possible estates is apt to be viewed but as the aggregate of his isolated, sterilized individuality.

Without stopping to deny anything that has been or may be propounded from that point of view, it concerns us now to say

that, so far as we know and are charged with the solution of the problems of humanity with its capacities and aspirations, its hopes and fears, its vast and disheartening failures, its slow and painful successes, its gradual, struggling uplift, and in the light that shines before it, the ultimate human element in them is not the individual man. He never stands, he never will stand, from his earthly cradle to the full fruition of his powers in the endless life, nor even in the blight of darkness and loss, in abstract solitude. He is always and indissolubly associated more or less closely with others of his kind. As a mere verbal proposition he can be posited as an individual, the primitive, single, savage, unmeaning human atom of the cabinet philosopher. But as a matter of fact, for any human purpose, the moment he passes from figuring as an intellectual abstraction into any state of activity, the moment he ceases to be used as a physical or metaphysical manikin and becomes alive, he is inconceivable as absolutely individual and distinct.

Man is set in community. He never escapes it. Out of it he is a creature we never see and cannot know. He is a thread in its texture, and signifies nothing apart from it. He is in community, he is of community. His life is the product of other lives; it produces other lives, but not by itself, and only through community. He lives, and is significant only as he touches and is touched by other lives. Strictly alone he is as the dead. Physically, mentally, spiritually, he is vital and fruitful only as he is in community with other life. To isolate him in conception can therefore lead only to barren thought and moral error.

Hence, we must discard the cadaver of the demonstrators of spiritual, moral and social anatomies, and take for our human unit the simplest, complete form of living mankind; that form in which we find man in the complete and fruitful exercise of all his powers, in the potential fulfillment of every function. Only so can we know him and combine him. Our unit, our microcosm, must be that simple form of community which is irreducible, yet containing the possibility of the display of every human power; that form which makes complete mankind. That form is the family. The simplicity of its structure is absolute; it is irreducible, indivisible; it is only, perhaps, destructible; the bond of its strength is the last that can be broken; the conditions which it meets make it the only necessarily permanent form of community, and they also determine its own changeless form; it is the lowest sufficing form; simple as

it is, it opens the whole field of love and service and law; it alone survives change, and it is the imperishable base of order.

It is ultimate. Break down all else; destroy nations and tribes, kingdoms and neighborhoods, commerce and industries, and economic systems; so long as the family remains, the potency of all these remains, and their reconstruction is sure; the source of order is not destroyed; its germ is not crushed; its mission among men is not denied; its principle is intact in the unbroken household whence it may set out to renew the earth.

Accordingly—and this in part must be my apology for approaching my topic through a statement of the fundamental and comprehensive character of the family—we find that every scheme of disorder in the social state, and every theory of lawlessness in the spirit of man, attacks the integrity of the family and seeks its destruction, or its perversion and degradation by violence or corruption. The anarch instinctively recognizes that until the family is destroyed, until the affections of home are blotted out and turned to lust, and its sweet sacrifices and responsibilities are denied and replaced by tyranny and hate, the fountain of love and service, and the root of law and order remain to restore verdure and flower and fruit after his fiery blight.

And not only is the family the ultimate form of that community to which service and law and order are eternally indispensable; it is the ultimate home, the very citadel of morals.

The reproduction of life is the highest function of which any creature is capable. The reproduction of human life, the gendering of a human soul to live and act, to love or hate, eternally; to be a deathless source of beneficence or of woe; to rise or fall in endless scale; to set out upon that unending road upon which its feet may never pause—this is the highest moral act of which human beings are capable. And not only is this human life, this human soul, derived from other human lives; but so are its impulses and its first imitative actions; so are its first unconscious moral impressions and bias.

Such are the affections and the necessities of human nature, and such are the numerous exigencies of the case, that the reproduction and fostering care, development and training of human lives is continuously possible only in the family state. Experience proves it. Outside the family, nature soon halts in impotent confusion.

Here is the ordained, indispensable source of life, the beginning of nurture, and the permanent home of morals.

And yet one step more. The life that is born and nurtured and taught, and set out on its course of undying action in the family, is the image of God. No matter how distorted, crippled, blinded, infirm, degraded; it is the image of the living God, possessing in some remaining trace or in some potency of restoration, every feature, every faculty, every attribute of the divine Father of us all; the image which our Lord Jesus Christ came to restore in us through our following of him in his humiliation, his death, and the resurrection in his likeness. The incarnate Son of God reveals to erring man the Father he has left and lost, and sets himself the eternal, perfect example of a human life, and declares it to be a divine life. The end and fruit of Christianity is Christ's likeness in men, the restored, perfect express image of God. In the cradle of life and the first school of nurture is its native home. In this well-fenced field can its results be most securely sought, from the first tender leadings, to the strong self-denial which toils toward perfection through willing sacrifice and suffering; and in this one abiding human institution where its work begins and bears its fullest fruit, it may find a sure refuge when it has been betrayed in every other house of its friends, and we search for faith upon the earth.

The cement of this institution, its final bond and tie, and from which all its other bonds derive their force and value, is the pure affection, the mutual loving service of husband and wife, of father and mother. It is only a pure human love that builds the home in unselfish devotion, endows it with countless ministries of beneficence, and holds it proof against all the gates of hell. Neither the union for selfish convenience nor that of base passion can produce the results of a true home, any more than they resemble the delicate and tender, unconscious glory and majesty of a pure affection. Unselfish purity is the alchemic touch, wanting which, all is base, corrosive metal. And so to this spiritual grace in heart and life, in soul and body, do we come at last for the hope of true loyalty and service, law and order, faith and morals, Christ-like lives and glory with Christ hereafter: we see how certain it is that the pure in heart, and they only, shall see God. And for the corruption and destruction of this grace, how many and cunning and dangerous and successful are the modes and agencies provided and set

afoot by the economy of evil. Impurity is about us like a cloud. It presses inward at all points like an atmosphere. Its grossest forms are its fewest forms; and its creeping mist tarnishes and defaces even more than it destroys.

It is not needful in this place to dwell upon the outbreaking, defiant forms of this evil. The open doors of hell stand wide in every city and town, to lure the footsteps of our sons into the ways of death, and to make traffic in woman's ruin; and we jostle on the streets their emissaries who with hellish craft and unpitying hearts lure the untaught, the unwary, the giddy, foolish girls to recruit those swiftly thinned ranks that fill our hospitals and our potter's fields with loathsome disease and premature death, and who put into the hands of our youths and our children a literature of unspeakable depravity. The secret lust of the outwardly respectable has its unsuspected homes of sin in all our quarters; the breakers of marriage vows, men and women, masquerade in our society; the miserable poor herd in a promiscuity that makes innocence impossible and purity almost so; the low wages that make the bargains on our shop counters press upon the unnumbered army of workwomen the constant temptation to sell soul and body to supply needed comfort; and the air of the round world throbs wearily day and night with the foul speech and deadly mirth of foul minds and hearts. But these things we all might see and know for ourselves, did we not try to shut our eyes to them, and draw our skirts about us, and feel that our only responsibility in regard to them is to avoid them. Human pity and Christian charity and righteous indignation, all have here their work of redemption and healing and repression. Let us to-day rather consider some of the commonly unnoticed things which make possible what we loathe and deplore. And here among the multitude of general causes it is difficult to select and rank the most important. Perhaps the order of time is as good as any.

For the vast majority of American children, the first, and therefore most potent, outside influence is the public school. Here are thrown together, for years, with little restriction upon, and less supervision over their intercourse, children of both sexes; the lisping infant and the nearly grown man and woman; the refined and the common; the gentle and the brutal; the innocent and the vile; the ignorant and the knowing; the sweet, tender, pure, defenseless little souls to whom all things are yet pure, who know no guile and

suspect no evil, and those in whom lust has been prematurely awakened by evil knowledge and temptation, and sin has already begun some form of spiritual death and bodily vice.

What is the result? What can we expect? For what have we provided the conditions? What father does not know how often a son's first knowledge of himself is gained from impure associates at school? What can he expect as to the quality and influence of such knowledge so derived? What mother does not have evidence, in the vile words her children use, perhaps ignorantly, that their minds and hearts are being filled with foul thoughts; that they are being made to hear of vice they may not yet understand? It is a marvel of our time, and marks a fearful lack of a sense of responsibility for results, that tender children, well guarded at home, are turned loose in the heterogeneous crowd of the public school, and never an effort is made to extirpate or defend against the evil influences that are as rife there as fungi in a swamp.

If a personal statement may be pardoned here, I would say, that having been recently asked to take some oversight of the White Cross work in my own town, the first thought was for the schools, and the first plan to get the teachers to organize some simple form of society among the older boys, to teach them their duty toward themselves and their responsibility for the younger ones, and to repress, as far as possible, all vice of thought, language and behavior.

It is remarkable, if not amazing, to see how utterly the objections once so strenuously urged against the modern novel have been forgotten, and how, from being reluctantly conceded a possible legitimate place in the later refining and equipping of an educated man and woman, it has come to be a part of the daily mental food of nearly all persons, no matter what their age or training. It is almost the sole reading, with one exception, of a majority. That there is much fiction that is pure and noble, and is an attractive and wholesome teacher, and an immense power for good, we must gladly admit. But it is not the bulk of fiction, nor the part most consumed. And, as an agency for false teaching, scarce anything can compare with the modern sensational novel. The mind is led out on the lines of extravagant fancy, and put off its guard; it is carried idly along without self-direction or sustained effort until it loses the power of both; the imagination is fed upon highly wrought and swift succeeding climaxes, and becomes thoroughly impatient of the slow movement and quiet commonplace of daily life; it

forgets how patient and humble a thing true heroism is, and sees all things in strange, uncouth relation, in feverish, sensuous dreams; it thinks and speaks in extravagances. And the modern novel deals almost exclusively with the most intimate relations of men and women, under every conceivable variety of difficult and misleading conditions, ingeniously contrived to disturb the balance as to those things which one need see most clearly, most truly, and with a quiet mind. In it every vice of opinion, every degree of falsity, every shade of impurity, every suggestion of evil and every denial of good, from faint innuendo and sneer, up to the realism of Zola, floats into the somnolent mind on the current of a fascinating diction, and is lodged home in the heart unnoted in the thrill of a dramatic situation.

And the modern newspaper of the sensational sort—and they are the many, and read by the many—divides the field with the modern novel. They have grown together, and supplement and react upon each other. And if the average newspaper has no theory of immorality to propose, its best space and greatest energy and highest enthusiasm are given to gather daily from the face of the whole earth and set forth every scandal, every filthy and horrible crime, every lapse from virtue, every ruin of a soul, with a luxuriance of detail and a suggestiveness of comment that leaves no evil thing to be learned or thought of by those who read it. Journalism boasts its enterprise, that its eyes are turned into every corner; and it is true. Alas, that in the majority of cases it feels called to purvey moral contagion! It feeds the minds and hearts of men on their own vices. It delights their eyes and imaginations with the mirror of their own deformities and foulness; and its justification before men for this evil service is that they delight in it and demand it. If, as many affect to believe, there be no such person as Satan, what a waste of material for sardonic mirth! How hopeless of remedy to all but the eyes of Divine pity and Almighty power must seem such a spread and depth of evil conditions! Who can touch all this pitch and not be defiled?

Even more insinuating, more appealing, more subtle and abundant and powerful in suggestion, more definite and permanent in many of their lessons than any form of literature, are the forms of art, whether in painting, sculpture or music. How great a record, how instantly known and read of all men, of the conceptions of beauty, of the hopes and fears and faiths, the joys and sorrows, the

light and darkness, the sweetnesses and bitternesses of long past generations of men, has come down to us through their media! But here, as in literature, in our day at least, the tares and the wheat are growing together. And of the disseminators of impure suggestion, both in its own examples and still more in the strange but undeniable influence it has upon the art of other countries, a certain well-known type of French art must be reckoned among the chiefest. It is the product of de-spiritualized minds, and does not see its own shame. It is of hopeless fleshliness, fleshly; it has no hope of the future to teach; its clothed figures are suggestively self-conscious; and it exhausts ingenuity in the delineation of mere physical nakedness, without even innocence, much less spirituality, to mask the uncovering. Its outward gayety, and forced, artificial sentiment do not conceal the cinder of the burnt out life. Time would fail me to point out a tithe of this evil influence; but its range is from the picture-galleries of the rich down to the advertisements that reek with shameful hint in the shop windows of every street in the civilized world.

And when the child passes from the teaching and pressure of all these things into the world of personal contacts, into association with his fellows and under the influence of human institutions, and is taught their faiths by their works, how does he fare then in this matter? Does he find nothing in the standards of judgment and the conventions of society to confuse his own moral sense and blur the definitions of good and evil?

Among many notable things in this regard I will mark two. Society judges and visits the sin of impurity in women and in men very differently. Perhaps it is because it feels its own power and knows her weakness, and has not wholly ceased to be a coward. But the unfortunate woman who sins, or is even suspected of it, repent she never so bitterly, purify she herself never so wholly in heart and life, loses caste; is socially outcast; every door and every heart is shut, and every hand is raised against her. But her companion in guilt, as a rule, and especially if he be wealthy or well placed socially, is not disqualified in any of his relations, even for marriage with a pure woman. What shall the child judge from this? That character signifies in one and does not in the other; or that the bar of God knows one law for the one and a wholly different law for the other?

Again, how does the child, before whom lies this all-important

moral step, hear marriages judged? Is it by beauty and fitness of character and singleness of pure-hearted devotion; or by the material and social gains or losses apparently involved? Does this child learn, from what it sees and hears, to look upon its coming mate as the lifelong companion of its own soul in all the joys and sorrows and labors and duties and burdens of this sphere; or as the other party to a bargain in which material consideration must be balanced, with a vague hope that each may chance to get more than is paid for? "Be not deceived: God is not mocked."

And here come in the modern theories of government and law, and take entire control of marriage and divorce as purely civil matters wholly within the control of the state as a secular power, treating the whole as a matter of the making and annulling of a mere contract; treating it, perhaps, somewhat more seriously in some states than ordinary contracts, but in essence no whit differently. The only conditions involved are, on the one hand, capacity and legal consent to the contract; and on the other, its breach as a contract. Hence that astounding facility of divorce in many states, so familiar that it has ceased to be shocking. The true character of the union as the highest act of the children of God, is wholly ignored, left to individual consciences under no bond to the state, and to the churches and institutions of religion, from which all action save in a purely civil capacity is taken away. It signifies much that in the eye of the law the minister of religion performs the marriage ceremony, not as a minister of religion, but merely as a marrying officer under the law; and that divorce laws usually have reference to no body of either ecclesiastical or even divine law, or religious opinion. And this significance is greatly intensified in view of the character and growing proportion of the foreign element in our population. Much of that population goes through our towns, and passes on to make peaceful homes of industry and thrift and virtue on our interior lands—builders at least of material strength and commercial prosperity. But fast growing numbers gather in our cities and villages, where they gain increasing control of the political machinery, and thus affect our legislative assemblies and their acts. And these people have, in their own eyes at least, come from tyranny to freedom, and tyranny is, in their minds, identified more or less with the whole body of the law whose propriety they deny; and freedom is license. The anarchists, who in their press and their daily meetings openly preach their gospel of hate and

destruction, and raise a form of terror in all our towns, represent but the extreme, the final outcome, of a moral taint and intellectual error that is spread in varying degree through a great body of our non-Americanized population. Free love, abolition of marriage, separation at will of either—these be their doctrines of the foundations of society—and the children of these destroyers are in the schools of all our large towns. It goes without saying what their influence is.

Cause and home, as of every other social ill, so of this—there stands, distinct and mighty, that great open school of self-indulgence, the saloon, with its pupils of every grade, from the initiate young man greedy of pleasure and toying with danger, secure in the conceit of his own self-control, to the miserable worn-out wretch shivering in horror over the darkness of the pit. It perverts every sense, brutalizes every appetite, destroys every moral sensibility, and sets the body on fire. Its beastly victims think and speak of beastliness, and the incredulous sneer at manly virtue; and devilish glee over woman's ruin are of the highest wit and choicest humor of the bar-room.

In view of this whole matter, considering its character and the intrinsic nature of its remedy, let us ask what is the attitude of Christian people toward, and their action in regard to it?

With here and there exceptions, the answer must be that their attitude is that of avoidance, and their action is to stand still, shutting their eyes. The attitude is instinctive. The subject is so intricate and delicate, so difficult to touch, so easily handled mistakenly, it is so easy to do harm rather than good, so hard to know just the good needed in any case, and there is so much of a false shame as well, that the whole thing is shirked, and children rarely hear a word of what is to them the most important personal matter of this life, from those who are responsible for their entrance upon and training for it. Rarely, at home, at school, in Sunday-school or church, do they receive that which would neutralize or at least minimize the evil knowledge they will receive from evil sources, and the temptations they must encounter.

But we have no choice. There is but one remedy. We can fight impurity only by teaching purity. We can guard our child against dishonor only by teaching him how to possess himself in honor. We can prevent evil knowledge only by forestalling it with pure knowledge. We can save him from temptation of the devil

through his manhood, only by teaching him that it is his as a child of God; that so he is in the likeness of the creative power of God; that the family which is founded in the dual image of God is the earthly image of the kingdom of heaven.

The true order among Christians in this matter requires that the church teach the parents what they need to know, and that the parents teach the children. But there is a vast field outside this range where such work is needed, both for the saving of those who are outside, and for the more perfect defense of those within. And for this I know nothing better to suggest than the organization of the White Cross League, which originated in the Church of England, and is meeting with remarkable success. It requires very little machinery, and is easily used within guilds, church and school societies, and any religious or other associations of young men. Its pledge is as follows:

"*I*,.....

PROMISE BY THE HELP OF GOD

1.—To treat all women with respect, and endeavor to protect them from wrong and degradation.

2.—To endeavor to put down all indecent language and coarse jests.

3.—To maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women.

4.—To endeavor to spread these principles among my companions, and to try and help my younger brothers.

5.—To use every possible means to fulfill the command, 'KEEP THYSELF PURE.'"

This is comprehensive, and it places the subject where it belongs, a matter lying in the spiritual life and character of the man.

If I have spoken truly, though not the half, in this matter—and I have spoken nothing which is not open to all who will see—it is time that we lay to our hand. For, standing here in Christian conference, at the period when Christians throughout the world commemorate the time of this mortal life in which our Lord Jesus Christ came to visit us in great humility, and are musing with expectant hearts on that approaching day when he shall come again in his glorious majesty to judge both the quick and the dead, we must remember that as with the great Baptizer in that first advent tide, so it is with us, who are the body of Christ on earth, broken and divided though we present him, in this later day we also are set "to prepare a people for the coming of the Lord."

GENERAL DISCUSSION.

J. CAREY THOMAS, M. D., OF BALTIMORE.

Mr. President and Members of the Convention: I wish to emphasize the importance of giving expression to the sentiment of men in favor of "personal purity" on the part of men. This sentiment exists; but few are aware how little it is known. Good men are often reticent on this subject. Men of loose habits are outspoken. The White Cross movement, with its pledge and its literature, has made possible such expression. A few earnest men in any church or community, or Young Men's Christian Associations, banded together, and pledged to be outspoken in favor of pure life, pure talk and true manliness toward women, will do much to help young men perplexed by the absence of such experience, on the part of those older and more experienced than themselves, and half inclined to believe those who deny the possibility of pure lives on the part of men. In small places particularly, public sentiment amongst men might and ought to be made to be on the side of purity, and thus many young men saved from defilement.

This work is eminently a work of prevention, an ounce of which is better than a pound of cure; a moral sanitation, letting in the sunlight and pure air. How much this is needed, all who study the question know. Care should be taken that it be done in the manly, hopeful, Christian spirit of the White Cross League. A tract such as "True Manliness," or "Buried Seed," or the pledge offered, will often open the way. One example of the good they sow may be given.

A workingman in a large piano factory joined a White Cross league. He worked at a bench with a number of men. Every day the party was subjected to hearing the recital of stories of impurity and low jests. He had long been troubled by this, but now he felt he must do something. He procured some copies of

the tract on true manliness, and put one at the place of each of the men; after reading these the men accused him of the act. This he did not deny, and three-fourths of the men agreed with him, and the evil talk ceased.

PROF. SIMEON E. BALDWIN,

OF THE FACULTY OF THE YALE LAW SCHOOL, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: My friend Mr. Dike, in his thoughtful paper, has insisted on the reliance we ought to place on the family as the basis of all society, and on the careless way in which our government and people regard it.

It is, I think, one of the things in which the Old World was wiser than the New. The Greeks and Romans, we all know, made every family a church. The father was the priest. It had its household gods. It was so in a measure with the Jews, with the Hindoos, with every ancient race.

And now let me ask, Which of our Christian churches has best remembered this lesson of ancient history? Not, I say, any church represented here. It has been best remembered by that oldest church of all, comprehending to-day the greatest number of Christians in the world—the Roman Catholic church. And I rise here as a layman, sent here from the General Conference of one of our religious denominations in my own state, to say, with some little regret, that I am sorry that in this great convention a more kindly tone has not been manifested towards that venerable Christian church which has its center at Rome.

A MEMBER: I object to that. I don't believe it's a Christian church at all.

PROF. BALDWIN: That is precisely the sentiment that has been uttered from this platform, and I rise here as a layman to say that in what I have done (and I have done something) in social reform, I have found in my own state, Connecticut, no truer friend in many of these very questions that have come before this body, than gentlemen of the Roman Catholic church. My friend Mr. Dike and I stood together in Connecticut, as organizers of the National Divorce Reform League. One of the best helpers in the cause was a Roman Catholic. Now, I do not desire to raise any

question of antagonism to the gentleman on the floor. I simply want to say this, and I do say it—that I think one of the great friends to the cause of social advancement in our cities is the Roman Catholic church. We can't afford to reject its aid. It guards the family; it looks at the children, it looks at the home, from the standpoint of a Christian organization; and we ought to make friends with that church, we ought to bring them in with us in all these causes of Christian and social reform. And unless we do it, we reject one of the great factors that is ready to our hand to help on the cause of Christ in America.

MR. DODGE: I want the privilege of saying one word on behalf of the Alliance. I am sorry that Mr. Baldwin, whose admirable work we all respect, has entirely mistaken the temper of the Alliance and of what has been said here. I know of no one connected with the Alliance or any of its branches who has not the most sincere respect for the piety, for the charitable organization, and for the order of the Roman Catholic church, and for the good done by it. We all admire and respect many of its members, and among them, all of us have Christian friends whose character we respect and love. The only word that has been spoken here (and it was put admirably in the address of Bishop Coxe last night) has been the fact that we do not believe in the power which is recognized by so large a number of the Catholic church—the allegiance to a foreign power that has no sympathy whatever with our advance as a republic or as a Christian nation. [Prolonged applause.]

Against that, as American citizens and as Christians, we must always protest. Against their attack on our public schools, or on any of our institutions, we must always protest. But toward them as Christians, many of them earnest, faithful, devoted and useful, we have nothing but love, sympathy and regard, and will always work heartily with them; and we will defend, to our last blood, the rights for them that we claim for ourselves. [Great applause.]

REV. J. W. M. WILLIAMS, D. D., OF BALTIMORE.

MR. PRESIDENT: I have listened with profound interest to the two papers that have just been read, and I would change the title, but not one sentiment uttered. These papers show the value of childhood and the value of womanhood. They have shown clearly

that the family is the first school, and we all know that woman is the chief professor in that school. [Applause.] They show very clearly that the family is the fountain of society, and we know that the children are the outflowing from that fountain; and as they are pure, society is pure and we are safe. It is not the coming man so much as the coming woman. [Applause.] For woman, after all, rules the world, either for good or for evil. You go to the excavated city of Pompei. Your guide conducts you to the old oracle, and shows you where the priest sat and answered the questions that were propounded. The priest was the real oracle. And I have recently made a discovery—but it is as old as the world, and I think you will perceive it to be so—the real man is the woman he carries in his heart. If she be an angel of a woman, she will be apt to make him an angel of a man; but if she be a devil of a woman, look out for him. [Applause.] There, sir, is a great rule; and if in this Evangelical Alliance we can impress upon the ministers, and upon Sunday-school teachers, and upon our families the value of childhood, and they are trained in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and act on the principles taught in the word of God, the men and women of the coming generation will be a power that can resist the flood of error and skepticism and desolation that is flowing in upon our land. The hope of America is not in your Democratic party, or your Republican party, or your Prohibition party: the hope of America is in the education of our children and the purification of our family.

Some years ago, a company of travelers stood upon the upper tier of the Coliseum of Rome. Our present Minister to Spain said on that occasion, quoting a passage, "When the Coliseum falls, Rome falls." I added immediately, "The Coliseum has fallen, and Rome lies in ruins."

Fellow-citizens, when the purity of the marriage relation and the purity of our family fall, America falls. [Applause.]

REV. M. W. PRESSLEY, D. D., OF PHILADELPHIA.

I want just one moment, Mr. President, and only a necessity that is felt deeply in my heart, and one that has been pressed upon me from the outset, prompts me to lift my voice in this assembly now.

I believe the city from which I come is considered a pretty fair city. The Quaker element has always been a conserving element there, and when we talk about aggressive measures in the attack of evil, we have a great many ministers, eloquent and true, who invite us to go upon some promontory and count the church spires. We have 700 of them, one to every 1700 people, but it is a solemn and awful fact, that we have to look square in the face, and I believe that it is one that the ministry of all the cities of our country must soon look in the face, that we have almost as many houses of infamy in our cities as we have houses of worship to Almighty God. Now it is true (and I see some of the pastors here now) that we have beneath the very spires of our churches houses of infamy, where young souls are led down to ruin and damnation, because we have not had the courage to roll up our sleeves and put our hands to the evil, and throttle it at its very seat. And I trust that when we go back from this Conference, which has been a real inspiration to us all, that in the future it will be as concrete as it has been abstract; that when we go back, we shall not be ashamed to have our ministerial robes corrupted, if it require it, with contact with suffering, sinful, sinning humanity. And I believe, as Dr. Pierson intimated, that if our religion, kid-gloved though it may be in some respects, could be soiled by an honest contact with these living, awful, damning realities that we have to face in our cities, it would be far better for us. And I trust that very soon we, as ministers, shall erect upon our pulpits and in our souls this standard, that a man shall be as deep and as great a disgrace to society who allows his pure name and his fair character to be assaulted, as any woman who may have perchance, by the inducements of the devil, lost her character. Let us elevate this one pure standard. The gospel of purity is what we want; and I trust that all of us will receive such inspiration as I believe God has enabled me to receive. And I do believe that, if my own city is a representative one, if we do not very soon meet and master this gigantic evil, we shall see the cancer developing upon the very body of Christ.

I esteem it a privilege, and I feel that God has prompted my heart, to give utterance to these things, and I bid God-speed to the great army of ribbon-workers; and I believe that if we could come into living, personal, sympathizing contact with such noble, God-inspired women as Frances E. Willard, whose imperial intel-

lect and queenly graces are doing much to elevate from the slums to a position of purity and power the masses of our country, we should receive a further inspiration, and redouble our energy in this great work.

ILLITERACY.

BY PRESIDENT JOHN EATON, LL. D.,
OF MARIETTA, O.

LATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION FOR THE UNITED STATES.

A measure of ignorance, a sign of darkness, an invitation to fraud, a cover to iniquity, illiteracy is hostile to man's welfare, hinders industry and prosperity, obstructs virtue, imperils piety. Every alliance to promote human good may fitly discuss illiteracy as a most serious obstacle. Who shall measure its resistance to man's advancement? Was ignorance ever hailed as the mother of devotion? Must not all who go forth bearing the light of the gospel seek to increase knowledge and have the divine word read? How does illiteracy stand in the way of the consecration of American life to its highest ends? A full answer must not be attempted.

I. The amount and relations of illiteracy. We are dependent upon the decennial census for data.

Both the reading and writing tests are applied, giving as "intelligent," a low measure of attainments; besides, considering the inclination to claim ability, when not possessed, some experts would correct the figures by adding thirty-three and one-third per cent. Can we say how much ignorance is meant by illiteracy? Is it a lack of erudition, or only of power to read and write the alphabet? Could we determine the exact relation of intelligence to virtue, our task would be greatly relieved; but no one would assume to draw an unvarying line around either ignorance or intelligence, nor will we attempt to measure out the exact size or significance of illiteracy. We may consider all illiterate who cannot read or write. What a world of thought and fact, human or divine, must remain unknown to them! Commit to them the progress of mankind, with all its present attainments, and how soon our boasted arts would be buried in the barren wastes of barbarism! If knowledge is power, ignorance is weakness, and in the presence of perverted intelligence becomes a

temptation, adding greatly to its power for evil. Do we not count the mere presence of knowledge as a safeguard? Make the ignorant know, and how soon they begin to protect themselves! How are vices and crimes reduced by lighting the streets of our cities by night! Our theories of the action of the will may allow it to choose wrong in the sense of right. The advance of civilization may carry with it possible evils, that must be prevented by the greater effectiveness of virtue. We need not here enter upon this relation of ignorance to evil, or attempt to explain exceptions. We believe that the life of Him whose name describes our civilization is the light of men, and that it is ours to labor to hasten the day when it shall lighten every man who cometh into the world. We believe that thus come our purer social life, our advance in the sciences and arts, with our larger liberties, our free institutions, our government, resting on the intelligent will of the majority manifested in the form of beneficent laws.

First. Consider our adult male illiterates or ignorant voters. Our total voting population numbers 12,830,349, of whom 11,343,005 are whites, and 1,487,344 are colored. Of the whites 886,659, or 7-8 per cent, are illiterate, and of the colored race 1,022,151, or 68.7 per cent, are illiterate. We cannot pause sufficiently to consider the depth of meaning in these figures. Of every one hundred white male adults, eight, and of every one hundred colored male adults, sixty-nine voters, or jurymen, or witnesses, or soldiers, are illiterates. Did the Fathers build this fair fabric of freedom in the belief that it could stand the shocks and storms of years on a foundation with so large a fraction of ignorance? How far could this per cent be increased, and the day of ruin put off which has been predicted by the foes of our government? These ignorant men have a right to seek and accept office. What eight per cent of offices would you assign to these whites, what sixty-nine per cent to these blacks? The figures do not allow native whites to escape from the responsibility of this ignorance by charging it to foreigners or blacks. No section is free from its perils. Bring these masses face to face with the majorities in our elections, and mark how many their united strength would determine!

The members of our respective political parties believe in the rightness of their principles, and seek to make their appeal to reason and conscience; but the figures declare the alarming fact that in eleven states these illiterate voters outnumbered the votes cast by

either of the political parties in the presidential election occurring near the taking of the census. Thus, should these multitudes unite under any strong, impassioned leader, they could take control of legislation in these eleven states, and elect twenty-two members of the United States Senate, and a corresponding number of the national House of Representatives. May I not be excused from attempting to delineate the possible influence of this adult male illiteracy, upon bossism, bribery and other forms of political corruption? Should these 1,908,810 ignorant voters be set apart in states by themselves, they would equal all those entitled to vote in all the New England states, together with all those in the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Florida and Oregon. Should these concentrations be made, what chance would there be for liberty regulated by law among them? How long could these states be guaranteed a republican form of government? Who could tell the disastrous influence upon our public affairs, our own peace and our prosperity? Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the vastness of our country, its varied climate and natural resources, and the complex elements of its population and civilization, must increase the difficulty of solving the questions to be decided by majorities, and thus demand a more extended intelligence on the part of a larger number of citizens, if these questions are to be peaceably determined for a long period in the future. Something more than the eternal vigilance of illiteracy is required as the price of our liberties. How long would an ignorant body of voters guard the nice balances which preserve the harmony of our social, civil and religious forces—each in its own orbit, all moving toward the perfection of human government? Did not our liberties rest on the will of the people, did they depend on the decree of czar, or the action of an aristocracy or an oligarchy, there might, according to some notions, seem to be an excuse for indifference; and yet even imperialists are admonished, by Sadowa and Sedan, that the terrible arbitrament of arms finds victory in intelligence and defeat in illiteracy.

Secondly. The economic relations of illiteracy.

This Alliance believes in this world as well as the next. Christianity gives promise of this life and of that to come. It enforces the value of time, urges the duty of honest industry, emphasizes the improvement of means, holds a man responsible for his possessions, reveals the laws according to which wealth will conduce

neither to effeminacy nor corruption nor oppression, and according to which labor will neither be defrauded nor suffer want. When fortune drops wealth into the hands of the ignorant, who expects from it any of its higher uses? In all questions between capital and labor, ignorance is liable to become a hindrance to justice by preventing the prevalence of clear and large views, and by bringing into play passion and violence instead of reason and moderation. Every man's wealth has its beginning somewhere in the hand of toil. Labor and capital are alike dependent upon its efficiency. Shall we enumerate the embarrassments to the productiveness of labor and capital by the illiteracy of the laborer? Untaught: first, he is not observant; second, he is not so thoughtful or reflective; third, he cannot so surely see errors or correct them; fourth, he cannot improve processes, or implements, or machinery so readily; fifth, he is more clumsy, and suffers the disadvantage of having to use heavier and ruder implements; sixth, he is more liable to destroy and waste; seventh, he works by rule of thumb, and cannot so well follow those of science; eighth, he requires more supervision; ninth, he is less able to understand the complications of labor, and less capable of acting wisely for the interest of himself and associates, and less likely to use methods of reason, and more likely to be trapped into hasty and useless schemes by the designing; tenth, he is more likely to become a pauper or a criminal. It would be interesting to ascertain how much this ignorance among laborers has to do with their non-attendance upon churches, Sabbath-schools, and other means of religious improvement, and the absence of their children from public schools.

Thirdly. The great mass of illiterates, ten years old and over, in relations other than political and economic.

We take these figures as they are, without considering those under ten who will never receive further instruction, or those over ten who may yet have the benefit of schools. The total population, ten years old and over, was 36,761,607, of whom 6,239,958, or seventeen per cent, were illiterate. There were 32,160,800 whites, of whom 3,019,080, or 9.4 per cent, were illiterate; the colored numbered 4,601,207, of whom 3,220,878, or 70.1 per cent, were illiterate. Notice how nearly equal are the white and colored, each numbering over 3,019,080, the colored exceeding the white only by about 200,000. How shall we measure the tremendous fact that there are more than 6,000,000, who can have no communica-

tion with their fellow-men by writing, and who are shut out from so many of the influences which elevate the intelligent. Fortunately, they are so intermingled with them, and are surrounded by so many influences which speak to the senses and the untaught reason—fortunately the personal activities required in the exercise of American liberties are such that they are subject to a measure of education, and are often carried forward to good results in spite of their illiteracy. Yet, substantially, in vain for these millions do we establish libraries, print and circulate Bibles, tracts, books, magazines, newspapers. Send them the colporteur, or Sabbath-school teacher, or the preacher, and he can accomplish little, save as he gives oral lessons or teaches letters. Our Sabbath-work is mainly among the intelligent.

The number of illiterate brought under any form of Sabbath instruction is small compared with the great mass. How shall we measure the significance of their illiteracy to the family, society and the church, to the progress of truth, liberty, virtue and piety? Suppose these illiterates should be put by themselves in a territory the size of New York; they would equal its entire population and have remaining 1,157,087, or more than the entire population of New Jersey. When these regions were thus peopled they would become missionary ground; and should there appear among them the advocates of the Bible and their opponents, and the advocates of the supremacy of the church over the state, the defenders of a free conscience, the Mormon and anti-Mormon, the destroyer of the Sabbath and its defenders, the friend of purity and the advocate of impurity, the defender of the family and its destroyer, the teacher of the common school and his opponent, the preacher of temperance and the rum-seller, the friend of law and order, and the socialist, communist and anarchist—would not this Alliance, nay the whole world, contemplate the contest with the profoundest interest? Would not every bad cause consider the prevailing ignorance ground for its success, and every good cause see in it the disadvantage to itself, and unite with every other good cause to eradicate the universal illiteracy?

Again, suppose all these illiterates are put in families by themselves—indeed they are very much so now, and on this account the family is less available for their elevation—the number of persons in our families ten years old and over would hardly average four to the family. If this average should pre-

vail, there would be 1,559,984 families wholly illiterate. What a spectacle in a land of free Christianity, free Bibles and free schools! 1,559,984 families (shall I say homes?) in which there is not a member to whom the printed page freighted with truth, divine and human, for the blessing of the body and mind and the salvation of the soul, is hardly more than a blank! But these are the alarming conditions in our rural districts and around our city homes. Do we go up to Jerusalem—they are on all our roads. Shall we pass by on the other side? Possibly we may find, in taking care of them, the only way to save ourselves. From such benighted homes shall it be difficult for the saloons or brothels, for polygamy, intemperance, idleness, impurity and mendicancy, to find their recruits? Where else will the arch enemy of man's good revel with greater success? Let him secure a few sharpened intellects, schooled in his arts, and how rapidly and certainly will the deepest depths of sin and degradation be found. There they shall "walk after the flesh in all uncleanness," "despise government," be given to "riot," "speak evil," "cherish lies;" "spots," "blemishes are they;" "cursed children," "natural brute beasts," that "shall perish in their own corruption."

If you have never studied one of these centers of corruption in our cities, or locked corners of population in out of the way rural districts, you can have no proper conception of the horrors they contain. Erect a light in one of these centers, and how soon you see improvement. Study the history of Five Points or the efforts of Dr. Chalmers or Oberlin, or similar labors among the degraded the world over, and you have the same lesson. They are nigh every one of us. Study the facts gathered by our organized charities or in our police courts, trace the increasing number of tramps in their hiding-places, and you will verify these statements. We need more careful surveys of social conditions. Otherwise, how can churches or pure and cultivated homes most wisely labor for the degraded around them? The laws of sanitation are often violated among the ignorant, and fatal diseases go forth thence to destroy those who would closely guard their health; but immorality is no less communicable. No building of walls will ensure against the deadly influence of surrounding contaminations. The presence of a single illiterate given over to iniquity is a terror to every youth within his influence. Who does not remember the thousand or more whose corrupted blood was traced to the one Margaret,

the mother of criminals, or the $1,300,000 they had cost the community? Was not a county of intelligent people recently shocked to find that in its institutions for the care of the dependent or criminal over sixty inmates traced their descent to a single ancestor, and he is still alive and an inmate? Does any one believe that the giving to these degraded ones industry, letters, knowledge, virtue or piety will pauperize them? Does a free gospel poured out like the sunlight, do free schools or libraries, pauperize? Shall we wait action till darkness asks for light, vice for virtue, sin for holiness? Did Christ wait till the world, lying in wickedness, sought and welcomed him to home and comfort? Does Christianity wait till paganism gives its greeting, and sustains its agencies and institutions? No, the mission of good to evil is not determined by the hard laws of selfishness.

We err when we regulate our efforts against illiteracy by the law of supply and demand. Again, is it improper to ask here before the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, if there is not something distinctive of American Christian civilization not found in any other than English letters, and not translated into any other than American literature? Else why are our liberties so misunderstood? The Fathers came to enjoy the privilege of a free conscience enlightened by the Scriptures. Out of their planting, by divine culture our civilization has come laden with the richest fruitage for mankind. Many now arrive among us for the same purpose, sharing in the support and benefit of our advancing liberties; but in the great numbers that come—so great that year and year they who cross the wide and separating oceans and are received, all unconsciously, among the homes of our broad land, outnumber the greatest migrations that came from Asia to Europe and joined in that ceaseless flow from the East to the West, transforming nations and races in their savage progress—in these vast multitudes coming hither, there are many who are totally illiterate and many who read in their own tongue, but have never learned of our Protestant Christian freedom, who reject the spirit of our free institutions, and as to the great objects of this American Evangelical Alliance are substantially illiterate, and come not to enjoy and preserve our liberties, but only to get gain, as do Chinamen and others, or to destroy, as do anarchists—to add to the perils associated with the millions of illiterates already among us; trained under the evils of paganism, or no religion, or a perverted

Christianity, whose first fruits are likely to be unbelief and immorality, having lived under governments that are oppressive, used to authority that is tyrannical, and wealth that establishes caste and delights in cruelty. Some of them, polished in intellect by renowned schools, become leaders among us against a pure Christianity, and seek to destroy a free government which offers every man of them a share in its suffrages and offices, and under which the roads to wealth and honor are regulated, neither by descent nor caste, but where they are open to all alike—where the rudest laborer if educated, thrifty and honest, may exchange places with the millionaire—where in all the world man's material condition comes nearest to the untrammeled enjoyment of the healthful operations of organized life; where in moral and intellectual opportunities man comes nearest to the enjoyment in which the highest spiritual life is offered from the cross of Calvary by a dying Saviour to a fallen world.

But you will not expect me to dismiss this subject without some reference to the prevention of illiteracy or its remedy. I remark, *first*, that illiteracy should have the united opposition of all the agencies that rally under the banner of this Alliance. Illiteracy is a hindrance to all objects which intelligence would promote. Carlyle declares that "all mankind has done, thought, gained or been is lying as in magic preservation in the pages of books." The power of books, and the influence of all human experience, true science, pure literature and art, the rewards of honest toil, the benefactions of intelligence, unselfish or consecrated wealth, should be aroused against illiteracy. Every man who would benefit his fellow should lift up the light that is in him against its darkness and peril.

Secondly. We naturally expect the church, divinely commissioned to save men, to be among the most active of the organized agencies seeking to prevent or remedy illiteracy. To which of the duties enforced by its divine teachings is not this evil a hindrance? In the discharge of what one of them is not man's intelligence at once helpful and enlarged? They who do His will shall know of the doctrine; they go on to know the Lord. Every duty offers its reward of knowing. Whence comes a higher motive to learn? What has it not done for man's progress? Has not the church a special mission to teach all nations? Where has it accomplished its work more effectually than

where there is entire separation of church and state? Where produced a better government, or brought about a more general diffusion of light or practice of virtue, or a more universal dissemination of temporal comforts, or a higher spiritual life? But to see how inadequate all these efforts are, glance at what has been accomplished in religious schools and by churches. We only use figures synchronous with the census.

In the three classes of schools—those of theology, those of secondary and superior instruction—under Protestant and Catholic control there is only a total of 139,826 students, and only an investment in productive funds and other property of $82,195,728. Great as the Sabbath worship would appear on the first impression, allowing that there are now 28,170,300 sittings in the religious edifices of all the various denominations, there would be required 21,830,000 additional sittings, which at the average expense of $12 per sitting, would cost $261,960,000; to supply the preachers required at the average of one to every 375 persons, there would be needed 58,213 more clergymen; giving these men a preparation at the usual rate of $100 per year, over and above what they earn, would cost $17,463,900. Their first year's salary, on an average of $500, would require $29,106,500, making a total cost of supplying the preached gospel to the millions now without places of worship over the enormous sum of $308,530,400. Shall I note here also what the church may be expected to do in circulating religious books, tracts and papers, and especially the holy Scriptures? It is believed that our Sabbath-school work, according to accurate figures, does not reach half of the children who can read. Shall the church then turn itself from the religious work specially committed to it, which it is doing so inadequately, and attempt to establish at its own voluntary expense, elementary schools for the instruction of our millions of illiterate children? If it expects to do this by conducting parochial schools, to be under the direction of a foreign potentate, but to be supported by money raised by taxation and paid out of the state treasury, then it makes a proposition which strikes death to the very center of American life, and which every patriot, Catholic or Protestant, should resist to the utmost.

Thirdly. We consider the American plan of elementary education by the state as a prevention or remedy of illiteracy. The state, as no other agency can, touches all the children, equalizes

the expense by a tax upon all property, and has power and agencies to enforce all obligations involved. Qualified teachers, and all needed houses and other provisions, should be supplied, and the attendance of every child upon adequate instruction should be made absolutely certain. What would a single year's ten-months' school do to scatter darkness and let in light? Every state and territory has legal provision for a free school system, but all require improvement. More children should attend, and more remain longer in school. There should be no truancy and less irregularity, better teaching and appliances, and constant progress. In a number of southern states public schools continue for only two or three months during the year. But taking schools as they are, there was by the last census a large increase in illiteracy, and by the school statistics there were 5,754,759 youths of school age not enrolled. Allow that the odd thousands may be provided with private instruction, there would remain five millions for public provision; furnishing these sittings at twenty dollars per sitting, it would cost $100,000,000. Thirty thousand additional teachers would be required, and to qualify them, at the rate in New York, would cost $1,000,000; their pay for a single year of ten months would amount to $9,600,000, or there would be required a total outlay by the end of the first year of $120,000,000. What agency, personal or associated, or of state or church save one and that the nation, is equal to this demand? Besides, these necessities are not equally distributed; where there is larger demand, there are less means. In the late slave states, where public school provisions have mainly begun more recently, there have been great losses; the burden of illiteracy on thrift is enormous, and affairs have been passing through the transition from slavery to freedom. The free school work has gone forward, gaining strength, giving instruction to whites and blacks, raising the school tax here and there above the figures common in places where public schools have flourished longer. The gravity of the situation has seriously impressed thoughtful minds. Peabody and Slater have given their millions, private charity through church and other agencies has bestowed millions more. Thus, Christian effort has established an array of schools and colleges for the youth of those recently slave states, never paralleled in conditions and character in the history of mankind. The principle of self-help is strained to the utmost. Shall it be destroyed by over-tax, and a relapse come,

followed by a degradation of all classes that still shadows and oppresses Jamaica, where emancipation was so long ago accomplished? Can we expect communities to tax their property to the extent of confiscation for school privileges? Using synchronous figures, out of a white school population in the South of 3,899,961, 2,215,674 have been enrolled in schools, and out of a colored school population of 1,803,257, there have been enrolled 784,709, at a total cost of $12,475,709 per year. The good work goes on; but how long shall it be so inadequate? It is hoped that the appeal of wise citizens and able statesmen will be speedily answered by appropriate national action.

Finally, if we contemplate the problems committed to us as a people—the part assigned us, in the providence of God, in bringing all people to a knowledge of Him—are we not admonished to make all haste and unite all agencies to remove all internal hindrances? How would all our questions of peace and war be simplified, and our difficulties reduced, if there were among us no illiterate Mormons or Indians or Chinese, or other foreigners, no illiterate natives, black or white! Franklin called attention to the possibility that France might take the place of old Rome among the nations, and the French become the universal language, and it was hoped that England and the English might possibly follow as second. Then, perhaps 42,000,000 spoke French, and 18,000,000 or 19,000,000 spoke English. Now, it is estimated that over 120,000,000 speak English as their own tongue; and counting the progress of English in continental Europe, among the islands of the sea, and elsewhere, especially in India and Japan, the number who can understand English may be reckoned at 150,000,000. Should it be true, as estimated by Professor Müller, that in two hundred years English will be spoken by more people than are now living, and become substantially the language of the globe, how needful that we rid ourselves of illiteracy, and come fully to our share in this great responsibility in the service of mankind and the Master. How unspeakable the privilege of bearing the humblest part in furnishing free Christian institutions, science, literature, art and home, social, industrial and civil life in their highest form, nearest to the divine pattern for the future nations of the earth!

REMARKS OF NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

PRESIDENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK.

MR. PRESIDENT: What I have to say will detain the Conference but a moment. It seems to me that we should not pass from the consideration of this subject without recognizing its full scope and importance. The dangers of what we may call intellectual illiteracy —the inability to read and write—have been fully and cogently presented to us by Mr. Eaton. But intellectual illiteracy is only one feature of this great subject, and by no means the most important. We are being brought face to face, in this country, with a wide-spread moral illiteracy, which is infinitely more dangerous than any intellectual illiteracy can ever be. This moral illiteracy manifests itself by an inability to read the everlasting distinctions between the good and the bad, the virtuous and the vicious, the right and the wrong, and to write these distinctions in the practical affairs of life. How fast this evil is spreading in one or two respects, we have heard this morning. Every day, as we read our paper, we are confronted with column after column devoted to the narrative of instances of social, political, family and business dishonor or crime. It is but rarely that we are agreeably surprised at not finding at least half a dozen instances of this moral illiteracy recounted. And, sir, while far from being a pessimist, I believe that this illiteracy is spreading, and spreading rapidly, and that this Conference has before it no subject more serious or worthy of more careful consideration.

It is a mistake to suppose that great crimes happen without a cause. They are not freaks of nature. They are the logical outcome of certain causes. The frivolous falsehood leads gradually to the outrageous lie, and the petty pilfering to the great robbery. Inexact and immoral habits of thought and action are at the bottom of all this, and I believe that our system of education is largely responsible for it. We observe carelessly, we think inexactly, and we express ourselves inaccurately. It is to these simple and seemingly unimportant lapses that moral illiteracy traces

its origin. Gradually all mention of ethics and religion is being eliminated from the schools; and it is even fashionable in some quarters, to make ethics an elective study in our colleges and universities. This may be the effect, perhaps it is, of the revulsion against the ecclesiastical control of the school which prevailed during the Middle Ages. But however it arose, it is a dangerous condition of things. It permits young men to go out into the world without a word being spoken to them of the moral law and of the inimitable distinction betwen the right and the wrong. They readily come to look upon fashion or social convenience as the arbiter of morals, and when this stage is reached, the disease of moral illiteracy has set in.

This Conference will be glad to know that an educational movement, which is now sweeping over this land, gathering strength as it goes, will afford us valuable assistance in fighting moral illiteracy. As I have hinted already, the inexactness of thought and action which too much of our education permits or encourages, must be checked, if moral illiteracy is to be killed at the root. The manual training movement will do much toward this. Permit me to make a single illustration. A boy studies well, and goes home at the end of the week with a mark of ninety-five per cent in geography, let us say. Both parent and child, and perhaps the teacher also, are gratified at this, and in their gratification lose sight of the fact that ninety-five per cent is still short of perfection. The ninety-five gained puts out of sight the five lost, and, in consequence, the exact truth, and approximation to truth, come to be looked upon as the same thing. In other words, ninety-five is confounded with one hundred. Bad mathematics, but worse morals. Moral illiteracy has been made possible. Suppose now, that the same boy, in the curriculum prescribed by manual training, makes a lap-joint in the wood-working room. If it is ninety-five per cent of true, it will no nearer fit than if it were fifty per cent of true. It must be perfect, it must be exact, or it will not fit. Then, for the first time perhaps, it flashes into the boy's mind that truth is single, that it is perfect, that it is always the same. Approximations, however close, are not the truth. When the schoolboy learns this lesson, and forms his character by it, he will never afterwards become a moral illiterate, unless of his own free will. Education will have done all it can do, to teach him to read and write in morals. Time will not permit the amplification of this illustration. I only desire to impress

upon the Conference this one thought. We band together to stamp out intellectual illiteracy, for it prevents the progress of knowledge; and knowledge is desirable. Let us also band together to stamp out moral illiteracy, which prevents the development of character; and character is essential.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8.

The devotional exercises were conducted by Rev. Arthur Brooks, of New York. Hon. James B. Angel, President of the University of Michigan, presided.

On taking the chair, President Angel said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: In complying with the very kind request of the officers of the Alliance, to occupy this chair for a brief session, I desire to express my deep sense of the honor they confer upon me, by giving me even this brief connection with a body so eminently representative of all the noblest purposes, moral and religious, of the American churches and the American people.

How deeply I, in common with you all, desire the accomplishment of those purposes, and trust that the results of this meeting may be far-reaching and permanent, I need not now stop to say. I am sure that I should but very poorly enter upon the discharge of the pleasant duty entrusted to me, if I should deprive you for a single moment longer of the pleasure and profit which I know we are all to receive from the distinguished gentlemen who are now to address us. I therefore have the pleasure of announcing that the first paper is upon the subject, "The Relation of the Church to the Capital and Labor Question," and will be read by our venerable friend, the Rev. Dr. McCosh, who needs no introduction to any American audience. [Applause.]

RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE CAPITAL AND LABOR QUESTION.

BY PRES. JAMES McCOSH, D. D., LL. D., OF PRINCETON.

The history of our world is given in epitome Gen. iii. 15. "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." The world is not a scene of pure good or of unmixed evil; it is one of contest between the evil and the good; between the seed of the serpent, the animal and the malignant, and the seed of the woman, the pure and loving power. Scientists have at last hit on the right phrase to characterize our condition; it is "a struggle for existence."

The Americans know that the European countries are the scene of a great conflict between the landed aristocracy on the one hand, and those who have no inherited property on the other. But we have fondly cherished the idea that we might not have to face such a fight in this country, where every man has a vote, and has as much liberty as he can make a good use of. Many are astonished when they find that the quarrel has come over to this country, only taking a somewhat narrower shape—the contest between capital and labor.

The great Teacher, the head and prophet of his church, has laid down the law clearly and definitely. For this purpose he took advantage, as he often did, of an incident. (Luke xii. 13.) "And one of the company said unto him, Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me. And he said, Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" Our Lord declines to exercise jurisdiction in the case. He had a commission from heaven, but the power to settle disputed questions of money was not included in it. We learn, from other parts of Scripture, that there were officers who had power over property and life, and if this man was receiving injustice, to repair the injury. (Rom. xiii. 1.) "The powers that be are ordained of God." We call those who are

entitled to exercise them magistrates. The mediator, the Saviour, he tells us, did not come from heaven to earth to exercise any such powers. (John xviii. 36.) "My kingdom is not of this world." He adds, "If my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight," and might become judges and dividers of property.

"Art thou a king, then?" the Jews asked; to which he answered, "Thou sayest that I am a king," which is a Hebrew phrase meaning, "I acknowledge that I am a king." "To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." In other words, to reveal God's will to man, especially this: "It is a true saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners."

We have in this the full truth which my Scottish forefathers understood so well, on which they acted, and for which they suffered. God has two kingdoms in this world, a temporal and a spiritual, the difference between which can be easily understood by those who give their attention to the subject. The one deals with things of this world; it has judges, legislators and executive officers, and has power over property and life. The other has to do with the truth which God has revealed, with the soul, its conviction, its conversion and its sanctification, and has means to carry out these in the Word, sacraments and prayer. God is sovereign in both kingdoms. The one should not intrude into the province of the other. They may form an alliance to promote common ends, such as order, peace, education and morality. But each, meanwhile, must retain its independence. The state has no right whatever to dictate to the church in spiritual matters, and the church has no right to lay down laws to the state in temporal affairs.

Christ is the sole head and king of his church. The church, which is his body, is his representative. It is entitled to exercise the power committed to it by its head. It should take nothing less. It should claim nothing more. Had those distinctions been kept steadily in view, the countries of Europe would have been saved from many of the usurpations of the church of Rome over kings and rulers, to the moral enslavement and degradation of the people. This on the one hand, and on the other the Protestant churches of Europe, would have been saved from the

patronage, government and law, which has appointed worldly minded pastors, and hindered the living energies of the people. It may interest some of you to know that I am one of the few remaining ministers of that band of between four and five hundred who gave up their livings (mine was one of the most enviable), and formed the Free Church of Scotland, because the state interfered with the liberties of the church, and commanded us to settle a minister against the will of the people. I mention this to show that what I preach to you I have practiced.

So the church as a church, in its official capacity, as met to deliberate, and decide ; as it carries on Christ's work ; those who rule in it as they carry out its decrees have no power to interfere between labor and capital, and when invited to do so they should say, " Who made me a judge and a divider over you ?"

But is this all that the church has to do ? that is, to do nothing ? No, verily ; emphatically, I say no. She has power given her by her great head which she must exercise, and she is failing in one of her most important duties if she neglects to do so. I believe Christ to be the great peacemaker of the universe ; he is the mediator between God and man ; and his church, which is his representative, should be the great peacemaker on earth ; the mediator between the nations, between the rich and the poor, between capital and labor. To accomplish this end she must not take either side ; she must be on both sides ; she must aid both in the good ends which they have in common, in turning both capital and labor to the good of all.

In the very case in which our Lord declined to interfere because he had no commission, he proceeds to exercise a high office, entrusted to him in the councils of heaven, and bearing both on capital and labor. He said to the man and all bystanders, " Take heed and beware of covetousness," and explained that there was something higher than wealth and social status. " For a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." He and his church have to tell all that there are higher possessions than earthly ones, to command those who have capital to devote it to a high purpose, to the good of those who have none.

The church has a duty to discharge toward those who have capital and those who have none. But she must do it in Christ's way. She must act as Christ acted, and as Christ would act were

he now upon the earth. "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." These are the weapons which God hath put into our hand, which, and which alone, the church is entitled to use. And they are powerful, far more than carnal weapons, to the pulling down of strongholds. I have often wondered why Paul, the brave, the impetuous, did not denounce the iniquities of Tiberius and of Nero, and assail slavery, with its degradations and cruelties. He did both, but in a more effective way than by invective and stirring up rebellion. He tells rulers how they should act; they are to be a terror to evil-doers, a praise and protection to such as do well. He laid down the principle that all men are "of one blood" and are equal, and thus did more to abolish slavery than Clarkson, Wilberforce or Garrison. It was thus that the Scriptures undermined polygamy and unnatural crimes, by inculcating genuine love; and reared asylums for the indigent and the diseased; and raised the whole tone of morality and society to a higher level.

The church should not attack either capital or labor. I am convinced that we should not by arbitrary enactments hinder any man from bettering his condition. We must allow any man to acquire wealth, if he gains it lawfully. An accumulation of capital is necessary to a nation's prosperity; it is required in order to give work and food to the laborer and his family, and to foster trade and commerce, with all the blessings they bring. Not only so, but within definable limits we must allow man to have property in land and to cultivate it, and thereby, whether he means it or not, to raise corn and cattle to feed the people. As each class seeks its own interest, there will be collisions of interest, jealousies and wars. The church must be on its guard against joining in the strife. Maintaining an independent position, it has to mitigate the horrors of the contest, to soften the oppressor, and to cheer the oppressed. Without joining in the battle, it will have the happiness of nursing the wounded, of comforting the disappointed, the bankrupt and the poor; and of giving to the dying a cup of cold water, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.

The church has a message to deliver from God. She must see that she delivers it. It is to all classes. It is to the poor. "To the poor the gospel is preached," is one of the grand characteristics of gospel times; one of the aims which Christ had in coming into

the world. If the church loses the poor, she loses one of the elements of her strength; she loses the favor of her Head, she loses the favor even of the world, which will insist on her acting, as her Master did, in caring for the poor, and will have no respect for a church which ministers merely to the rich. The minister of religion, then, is the minister of the poor. Yes, but he is the minister of the rich also. They too need to hear the glad tidings of salvation. All their wealth cannot satisfy their immortal souls. Riches may bring pleasure, but they bring cares; likewise they bring temptations. The heart that is clothed over with purple, underneath which all is supposed to be filled with comfort, may ache as keenly as that which is seen throbbing under rags. You bestow your gifts on the poor; "have you nothing from Him that sent you to me, to give me peace," is the cry of many a man and woman who has every earthly good. When they are visited with disease, the rich and poor are very much alike, though the one class may have a little more comfortable couch than the other. But all are laboring under spiritual disease—the disease of the soul, which is far more fearful than the disease of the body. "There is no difference, for all have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God." Christians, you have the universal remedy; to your care it has been committed, and woe be unto you if you keep back the medicine from any who are ready to perish.

It has sometimes been charged against the church, or certain branches of it, that it neglects the poor. I am prepared to show that the accusation is unjust. There may have been exceptions, but the church has been the best friend of the poor in all ages since Christ gave the poor to the church as its special charge. The gospel minister is the minister of the poor, but he has a message to the rich also, who may be rich in this world's goods, but poor in the true riches. I have often found that the young minister who will not wait upon the rich to win them to Christ, is influenced by nothing else than a vulgar pride, which is fond of the flattery of those beneath him, but will not for Christ's sake wait on those who are their superiors. Among other learning, our theological students should study to acquire manners which are not offensive to any, and which will make them welcome in the dwellings of those above them as well as those beneath them in station. The churches as a whole, with many imperfections, have been trying to do their duty to the extremes of society, the rich and the helpless poor. There is an

intermediate class, which in America has more influence than either of the others. It is the great middle class, including our professional men, our bankers, merchants, storekeepers, farmers, higher artisans. This supplies the great body of the members of the American churches. Upon this class, or rather classes, the church depends for its sustenance, and the means of extending its usefulness at home and abroad. They constitute the bone and sinew of our churches, as they do of our country. It is well that we have them at present. We must seek to retain them by all the means which Christ hath put in our power, especially by maintaining a high standard of doctrine and of duty, and of activity in benevolent and missionary work. But we must beware of turning our churches into mere middle class institutions, depending and looking solely to those who can pay pew rents, who have good dresses for the Sabbath, who can visit with the minister and the minister's family, and maintain among themselves a genteel society. Perhaps there is a temptation here to our American churches. For there is another great class, of whom I am to speak in the remainder of this paper. I am not to take up the labor question, but the classes who labor. For my part, I am not satisfied with the position which the laboring men have in the nations of the world. It is not what it ought to be, and not what I hope it is to become. They earn by the toil of their hands most of the wealth which we possess. They know this, and they complain that their share of it is too small. I rejoice in every lawful attempt that is made to improve the condition of the sons of toil. I rejoice to hear of the master, aided it may be by his wife and his sons and daughters, seeking to improve the workmen in his employment. The Queen of England has set the example in her dealings with those under her, and is followed by vast numbers of ladies in the old country. There are ladies, married and unmarried, with their families, all over this country, who are doing a like work in a like spirit. The ministers of religion should encourage and aid them, organize and wisely direct them, and this as part of their ministrations in the service of their Master. All this alleviates the evil, but does not remove it or dry up its sources. I maintain that if the working classes are elevated in comfort or character, it must be by themselves.

When I visit a new country, I take pleasure in viewing the king's palace and the nobleman's park, but I also enter the houses or

huts of the common people. What scenes of privation have I been obliged to look upon, all out of the ordinary traveler's route, in the cabins in Ireland and among the crofters of Scotland. From my travels on the continent of Europe I can understand how emigrants should come in such flocks to this country. When I enter a new city, I admire its temples and palatial dwellings, but I insist on diving down into the miserable haunts, seen in America as readily as in Europe, where comfort is impossible, and from which all decency is banished by the crowding of the sexes, but in which our boys and girls are brought up, early learning vice, to transmit it to the generation following. We have no right to interfere with the laboring men, when they are seeking to elevate themselves above this degraded state. You say it is their own fault when they are in this condition. This may be so, but it is the office of the church, as it was that of Christ, to seek and save the lost and raise those that are fallen.

The attempts of the working people will not always be wise. The leaders whom they follow will not always be their best friends. Measures will be adopted which, so far from benefiting them, will greatly injure them. Mobbing, boycotting, even wounds and massacres, will be resorted to. Oppression drives wise men mad, and they will do deeds of madness. Some will become fanatical, and persuade themselves that there can be no God ruling over this world, where such evil is allowed to exist. But, it was to a world with such scenes in it that the Son of God came. It is in such a world that the church has a place, and an office assigned to it. It sees the evil around it, and it must use all the means placed at its disposal to lessen and remove it. It has to address itself to both sides in the quarrel. It has fearlessly to denounce the crimes committed by tyranny on the one hand, by lawlessness on the other. But its special duty is to proclaim what is right to both parties. It has a special commission to elevate those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, the class to which the God-Man belonged, and in whom He may be supposed to take a sympathetic interest.

When I was a citizen of another country, I paid a visit to America, traveled 7,000 miles in it, and often visited the churches *incognito*. When I visited your congregations, I was often asked, "What do you think of them?" I answered, "I think much of them; but where are your laboring classes?" I put this question sincerely, not knowing how to answer it, for the workingman dresses so well that it is

difficult to distinguish him from other classes. Where is the laboring man in our churches? is the question I am still putting, seeking an answer.

One-half certainly, perhaps three-fourths, of our entire population belong to the working class. Are they in like proportion among these well-clothed people who sit in our pews? In a book written by Mr. Loomis, with an introduction by one you can trust, Dr. Josiah Strong, it is said: "Go into an ordinary church on Sunday morning, and you see lawyers, merchants and business-men with their families; you see teachers, salesmen and clerks, and a certain proportion of educated mechanics; but the workingman and his household are not there. It is doubtful if one in twenty of the average congregation in English-speaking Protestant city churches fairly belongs to this class; but, granting the proportion to be so great as one in ten, or one in five, even then you would have two-thirds of the people furnishing only one-tenth or one-fifth of the congregation."* Then the writer tells the story of a newspaper reporter, who visited the congregations of the City of Churches. "He donned the garb of a decent laborer and presented himself for admission at each of the principal churches in the cities. At some he was treated with positive rudeness, at others with cold politeness. Only one or two gave him a cordial and, even then, a somewhat surprised welcome."

Your artisan is often a difficult man to win to the church. He is well educated, intelligent; he toils from morning to night; "he owes not any one;" he argues that he and his fellow-workmen have made the wealth of the country, and get a very little share of it; and he and his children have to live sparingly, while they see abundance of possessions around them. He becomes jealous of those who fare sumptuously every day, who have fine clothing, live in these elegant dwellings, who roll in carriages with prancing horses, that threaten to run over him as he trudges along wearily on foot. It is difficult to win such a man to Christ and his church. But that man has an immortal soul. The command laid on you and me is to "preach the gospel to every creature." You who sit in these cushioned pews put money in the plate to send the gospel to Timbuctoo. Do you send it to that man who lives next door to you and combs your horses and works your garden? The com-

* *Modern Cities*, by Samuel Lane Loomis, p. 82.

mand is laid on you, comfortable Christian, sitting comfortable there at your fireside in your house of cedar: "Go out into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in." We ministers preach the gospel to them that come to us, but even as Christ was sent to those who were not seeking him, so we have to go to those who will not come to us.

I still ask, What place have the workingmen in our churches? For myself, I am not prepared knowingly to answer this question. Since coming to this country my intercourse has been mainly with students. Thanks to God and the young men, and not to me, I have been able to keep the students in the most pleasant relationship toward the church, or, rather, the churches. But as a student of human nature, I have looked beyond the college walls, and I think I see that the churches and the workingmen have not the confidence in each other which they ought. I know it is difficult for ministers to win the hearts of our laboring men, who are often independent to the extent of being proud. I fear that it is especially difficult in America, where the laboring classes are not so dependent on the upper as in the old countries, and where they know their rights. They tell us that every man's house is his castle. And certainly you should not attempt to enter that castle by force. But you may knock at the gate, and find that you are invited to enter. You are to be looking and waiting for opportunities of getting access to them, not for personal ends, but for their good. They must be approached respectfully, according to the command, "Honor all men." Above all things they hate "condescension," as it makes them feel their inferiority. But there are ways of reaching them.

The churches of America must return to the old method, which has been from the beginning, to that of pastoral visitation first, and along with that, of evangelistic visitation. Paul reminds the elders of the church at Ephesus, when he returned to visit them, "after what manner I have been with you at all seasons," and have taught you "publicly, and *from house to house.*" (Acts xx. 18–21.)

The great Teacher mingled freely with the people, and was found giving instruction in the dwellings of the rich and the poor. Paul, in sending salutations to this one and that one, speaks of the churches which they had in their houses. It can be shown that from the days of Christ and his apostles such visitations have been kept up in all living churches.

It is not for me to bring accusations against the American churches, that some of them have very much given up this systematic visitation. It is now thirty-five years since I gave up my pastoral work, yet I look over the intervening period, with keen interest, on the one or two days a week I spent in visiting my people, commonly one day in visiting the families, and another day in visiting the sick and aged. I have passed through diversified scenes since, but I look back beyond them, with deep emotion, to the mother with the babe on her lap, and the other children seated on stools around her, and the talk I had with them. Often did the tears trickle down the mother's cheeks, as I spoke to them as immortal beings who might live together and love together forever. I did not always see the father during the day, but I met him as I went back in the evening to hold "a church in the house," and he thanked me for the interest which I had taken in the young man, his son. I am moved when I recall these family scenes. I think I shall be able to recognize some of these people in heaven, and that possibly they will welcome me there.

A minister will not be able to reach the hearts of his people unless he visits among them. I remember that when I began to preach I had about twenty carefully prepared sermons. But some fifteen of them would not preach ; they were not fitted to move men and women, and I burned them. I never learned to preach till I visited among my people; they encouraged the young man with a ruddy countenance, and they opened their hearts to me. The workingman spoke of his difficulties in making the ends meet, and the dying man committed his children to me, and grandmother thanked me for my kindness in teaching her grandson in my Bible-class. No part of a minister's life is so rich in memories as these pastoral visitations. I had sometimes difficulties in winning certain self-sufficient and sulky men, but I waited for opportunities. Sometimes I gained the husband by the wife, more frequently the father by the children. I remember one tradesman of skill and character, who shied all my attempts to bring him to church. But I kept my eye upon him, and the fit time came. He and his family were prostrated by malignant and infectious fever. I was with him and his family daily, and, thanks to God, when he recovered, he was won to Christ and his church.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am authorized to interrupt for a moment the course of the ordinary proceedings, in consequence of a telegram which I hold in my hand, which shows that these meetings are not only sustained by the deep interest of these crowded audiences, and by the sympathy, as we know, of millions of our friends throughout this land, but that the hearts of Christian men far beyond the sea are throbbing with the liveliest interest in our proceedings here. This telegram is dated "London, December 8," and is from the Council of the Evangelical Alliance there, to the Chairman of the Evangelical Alliance Conference at Washington. It reads:

"British Council, now sitting, cordially sympathize with you, praying for a rich blessing from our one Master."

MR. DODGE: Mr. Chairman, we have an inexorable rule here, that under no circumstances should we put anything to vote, but I suppose no rule is perfect without some exceptions. And I will, therefore, venture to move that this Conference, now in session, gratefully acknowledge the salutation of our brothers, and instruct the Secretary to return them a cordial answer by cable to-day.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will venture to ask so many as are in favor of this to manifest their sentiment by rising.

The members of the Conference rose unanimously, and the following message was sent in reply to the above telegram:

"Message of sympathy acknowledged by rising vote and grateful enthusiasm. Conference most successful."

RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE CAPITAL AND LABOR QUESTION.

BY HON. SETH LOW, OF BROOKLYN.

It is clearly impossible to deal with a question as large as this, in all its aspects, within the proper limits of a short address. It will be in line with the central thought of this Conference, I think, if I attempt to define as distinctly as I can, the light which is thrown upon the subject at large by a consideration of it along the line of organized capital and organized labor. This is the characteristic and dominating aspect of the question in our time and in this land. If we may take a hopeful view here, all is well. If not, then is our case sad indeed.

In approaching the consideration of this question in our own country, we must not forget that here every citizen is a voter. Two facts, therefore, strike us at once. They are so patent we cannot fail to see them. They seem at first sight so antagonistic that they puzzle and bewilder us. On the one hand, there never has been a time when the individual has counted for so much; on the other, there never has been a time when the individual has counted for so little. Politically, at the present time in this country, the citizen, just because he is a man, is entitled to his vote. He may, upon election day, if he wishes, negative the judgment and the preference of the President of the United States, as to any official to be chosen. The President of the United States, in many respects, is the most powerful ruler in the world. In the matter of appointments and patronage, I suppose him to be quite the most powerful ruler. But when it comes to the choice of a new president, the vote of the humblest citizen in the land is as powerful as his. Side by side with this spectacle of the political power of the individual, we seem to see the individual, as a factor in the business concerns of men, disappearing quite as strikingly. The indi-

vidual capitalist is disappearing in the corporation; the individual laborer is disappearing in the Trades Union or in the Knights of Labor. The first question that rises to our lips, in the presence of these strangely different tendencies of the time, surely, is, What does it mean? Is it possible that, after the race has struggled for so many centuries to make the individual politically free, to secure for him the opportunity and impulse for growth involved in political and individual freedom—is it possible that, after all, individuality is to be lost by indirection, through the corporation on the one hand and the Trades Union on the other? I do not think so. This strange contrast is only a new illustration—the illustration of our own times—of that great law which is powerful in social as well as in physical life—the opposition of forces. Were it not for gravity, the revolution of the globe would throw us all violently into space; were it not for the revolution of the globe, gravity would fasten us to the earth. By the opposition of these two forces, the equilibrium is adjusted so nicely that a fly can walk. Were it not for conservatism among men, progress would always be revolutionary; were it not for liberalism, conservatism would make society stagnant. By the opposition of these two forces, wherever the equilibrium is maintained, social progress is both steady and orderly. If my premise be correct, it becomes us, then, first of all, not to be alarmed by the apparent difficulties which confront us, owing to the presence in our midst of these two antagonistic tendencies. What we are to do is to find their equilibrium. So considered, neither tendency can be spared. Together they furnish, instead of ground for fear, the best ground for hope that the transition of society from the old order to the new, will be a movement towards better and more permanent conditions.

It often has been shown that the last fifty years have witnessed a revolution throughout the civilized world, in the methods of communication, in the methods of travel, largely also in the manner of living, greater than can be traced through century to century, from the beginning of recorded history down to this epoch. Men say that this is the result of the great advances made during the last fifty years in physical science. No doubt it is; but it is important to notice that the fullness of time did not come for science until human history had reached the point where these two antagonistic tendencies touching the individual had become, both of them, ready for their consummation. In other words, that which

seems to me to have happened as to society, may be illustrated by a reference to the discovery of printing. Only when the type had been individualized, only when each type came to represent a single letter, was the era of combination reached. So now, as I conceive, we have reached in human society, and in this country in its highest form, the era of combination. That this depends largely upon the individualizing of the man, appears from the fact that where the individual is freest, politically, there also the organization, both of labor and of capital, is most complete. Some one has said that when printing was discovered, it seemed as though "a new fiat for light had gone forth from the lips of the Almighty." Does it not seem, as one reflects upon the mighty changes which have been wrought since the hidden forces of nature were placed at the service of combining society—does it not seem as though, in a very real sense, the time was already upon us when the Lord "will make all things new"? For this, at least, may be said: Combination implies community of interests; it is not utter selfishness. So that whatever selfish abuses may be traced to it, are abuses working in defiance of its own fundamental law.

If this be a correct conception of our own times, it follows, does it not, that combinations among workingmen, and combination among capitalists, the Trades Union and the Corporation, are in no necessary sense antagonistic to each other, any more than gravity working upon us is antagonistic to gravity working upon our antipodes. They simply are different manifestations of the same force, the force which emphasizes the interdependence of society, as against the individualizing forces of popular government. The forces which work in society are like the physical forces of the universe, in this respect at least, that they operate according to fixed law. The problem of mankind as to both kinds of forces is to ascertain the law of their operation. Until this is done, the same force which is waiting to be our servant, baffles, perplexes, troubles us. The method of ascertaining the law is the same in both cases, by experimentation and study. The present relation between labor and capital in this country seems to me simply to reflect the fact that we have not yet perfectly learned the laws which control these new forces that are expressing themselves in combinations of labor and capital alike. People have said, "Labor must combine because capital combines," and instantly there has arisen an unmistakable sense of antagonism

between the two forms of organization. The point I wish to emphasize is, that this is not the reason why labor combines. In the present age labor would combine even if it were conceivable that capital did not. Combined labor, as a matter of fact, does make the same demands of the individual employer as it makes of the corporation. The two forms of combination, the combination of capital and the combination of labor, are not antagonistic; they are only different expressions of the same force. This fact is of the utmost consequence. It is necessary that it should be laid to heart both by the capitalist and by the laborer. It goes to the root of many of the troubles which have marked in recent years the so-called conflict between capital and labor. Two results should flow from it; the belief that the tendency towards combined action on the part either of capital or of labor is not to be regretted; and the earnest purpose to ascertain the laws which govern this tendency, and to recognize the limit of safety in it.

It is clear that great mistakes mark the progress of society, hitherto, towards completer organization both along the lines of capital and of labor. I cannot see that one form of combination is more free from just blame than the other. The directors of corporations have ridden over the minority rough-shod. They have organized subsidiary corporations for their own benefit, to absorb the profits of the parent concern. They have managed, with as little thought as possible, for the interest of stockholders not in sympathy with the direction. The directors of labor organizations have been equally regardless of the interest of their minority. Strikes have been ordered contrary to their interests, and generally their rights have been compelled to yield to the power of the majority. Individual laborers are persecuted, and denied the right to earn their own living except by permission of the organization, and upon terms satisfactory to it. All these sorts of troubles, however, it is to be noted, are sins of capitalists against capitalists, and of labor against labor. It is only the old story under the modern form of combination, of the oppression of the weak by the strong. It perhaps is not out of place to say, on this occasion, that if the sins of this kind which labor commits against labor seem to be largely chargeable to foreign-born citizens, the exactly parallel class of wrongs which capital commits against capital cannot be so disposed of. They reveal the tendency to precisely the same sort and manner of sin on the part of

the native born. I point this out in passing, because we want to be as frank with reference to the beam in our own eye as we are in regard to the mote in our brother's eye.

But there is a class of faults chargeable equally to both kinds of combination, which in each case pass beyond their own lines. The corporation has debauched legislatures and corrupted judges. It has employed the best legal talent to be obtained, to enable it, while keeping within the letter of the law, to circumvent its purpose. It has acted as though the community had no rights which a corporation might not violate, provided it could do so without a personal liability on the part of its manager. The labor organization, on the other hand, has assaulted society in ways as dangerous and as far-reaching. By its doctrine of sympathetic strikes, it has made the innocent suffer far and wide. It has attempted to take society by the throat, in response to its motto, "An injury to one is the concern of all." The difficulty is not with the motto, but with its application. Once adopted by society as a whole, the motto need not be challenged. Taken as a watchword by one section of society against all others, it threatens to divide every community into hostile camps. All wrongs of this type, whether practiced by the capitalist or the laborer, are not wrongs of capital against labor, or of labor against capital; they are wrongs in each case against society as a whole, perpetrated under the forms of organization. Every good citizen, whether he be a capitalist or a laborer, is bound to denounce and resist both equally, whether the wrong proceeds from capital or from labor.

Up to this point, therefore, it is evident we have not touched directly upon any influence which tends to strengthen the impression that there is a conflict between labor and capital, and that labor must organize because capital does. There is, however, one particular in which the adoption of the corporate form by capital has affected importantly and directly its relation to labor. The employer, under the corporate form, is no longer the individual with his human sympathies, and his close, personal contact with those whom he employs. The employer is actually a body corporate, without soul and without conscience. Boards of directors, filled with the thought that in fact they are trustees, too often have believed that their trust on behalf of the stockholders was a money-eyed trust simply. They have felt under obligations to get the most labor for the least pay. They have not always felt under

obligations to protect the reputation of their stockholders for fair dealing and regard for those in their employ. So much has this been so, that I have heard it said a man would rather work for the meanest individual he ever knew than for the best corporation. Literally taken, this, no doubt, is an exaggeration. In effect, I do not believe that the statement misstates what thus far has been the tendency. Perhaps I am too hopeful, but I cannot help feeling that this tendency is less strong than it was. Our large railroad corporations, for example, seem to me to be growing, even if slowly, to quite a new and larger conception of their duty to their employees. It is of no consequence to my argument that this result has been reached in great measure through compulsion from the labor organizations. We are concerned, for the moment, only with the fact; only with the ultimate result to society of combination both of labor and of capital. If I am right, it is chiefly in its attitude as an employer, therefore, that combined capital has given the impression of hostility to labor. It is here also, if anywhere, that that impression may be most largely removed.

In one other respect I think the action of combined capital has strengthened this impression. I have been speaking of combined capital in its simplest form, in the single corporation. Think of it for a moment in its further development, where many corporations combine in a pool or a trust. Every such combination seeks, directly, only the good of the stockholders. Who ever heard of one being formed to enable the combination to pay higher wages, or to provide better accommodations for their workmen? Who ever heard of a fixed proportion of the artificial price so obtained being set aside for the benefit of labor? So long as such combinations think of the stockholders only, capital must not wonder that it excites the antagonism of labor, and incurs the ill-will of society, so far as society is not a direct sharer in the benefits. These two points seem to me to be the principal ones, where capital in its organized form has been in direct conflict with labor in our own day. Unhappily, the antagonism here has been direct enough and potent enough to account in large measure for the prevalent feeling on the part of labor, that labor's relations to capital must be and can be, safely, only for self-defense and for aggression. So long as this feeling lasts on both sides, it is aggravated as much by the attitude of labor as by the attitude of capital. From the nature of the case, however, I think it is only a

passing phase. The first impulse with both forms of organization—for it must be remembered that both are comparatively new—has been to try their strength. They try it upon each other, and they try it upon society. These struggles constitute the experience by which, in time, both forms of organization will learn the limits of their power and the laws of their own usefulness. If I am right, the remedy for this feeling of antagonism lies in a changed bearing on the part of the corporation towards labor, whereby every thought for the stockholder shall involve a thought for the laborer, every benefit for the stockholders some benefit for the laborer. Every such change on the part of the corporation, I cannot doubt, will be responded to, in time, by a corresponding change in the attitude of labor.

The tendencies of our times in other directions have augmented the difficulty which would have been troublesome enough in any case. The great improvements in machinery, the development of steam and electricity as servant forces, have resulted in an enormous increase in the power of production. This has been accompanied by a subdivision of labor, which has made the occupation of the individual workman less and less interesting. Instead of one man making a shoe, and enjoying the range of occupation and thought involved in the various parts of the process, sixty men now make sixty different parts, each man's work, in most instances, being as mechanical as that of the machine he tends. Is it not fortunate for his manhood and for society that the man who is thus made a machine has become, in the realms of politics, more and more a man? This belittling of the life which has come to so many workmen has aggravated, I do not doubt, their sense of antagonism to capital. The same influences which have reduced the workingman in his daily scope have widened indescribably the privilege and opportunity of capital. Has capital appreciated as it should the responsibility and the duty which come with the privilege—the duty, as Ruskin puts it, "of living belfry and rampart"—the duty to awaken and to defend? I do not think envy is a stronger force to-day than it always has been. Differences of condition count for something, no doubt. But the only antagonisms which are dangerous are those which spring from grievances which are genuine.

With this statement of the case before us, we now are ready to consider for a few moments the relation of the church to the ques-

tion we have been discussing. Whatever it be, it must be a relation to individuals. The kingdom of heaven still, as of old, is a little leaven, leavening the whole lump. I hope it has been made clear that the church has no mission to bemoan, nor to fight against tendencies to combination, either on the part of labor or of capital. The laws which these tendencies obey are as inexorable as the tides of the sea. In their effect on individuals they may appear sometimes to be cruel. They are cruel only as the waves are cruel; these drown the innocent babe as readily as the strong, bad man; but the same waves which drown some, float multitudes to homes and happiness and rest. The church should rather rejoice, I think, that these tendencies are absolutely hostile to utter selfishness. Through the corporation, the large stockholder of necessity gives opportunity and advantage to the small stockholder. Through the Trades Union, the average man fares better than before. So far as both are true to the law of their own being, they illustrate one of the fundamental teachings of the Christian faith—that a man may not live for himself alone. It is precisely here that the church's mission begins. These organizations, in their management, must be made unselfish. Although in them the individual in a certain sense is lost, nevertheless they are controlled by individuals. The church must teach all such to be just, to be generous, to be upright. It is her old mission to preach to the strong that they shall not oppress the weak. Let her preach to the capitalist and to the laborer alike, her old lesson of individual responsibility. Let her preach to both that the corporate or organized form has not lessened but rather increased this responsibility by so much as it has increased their power. Let the church teach that a director is a trustee, and not at all a man who has the inside track, and a trustee not in point of money only, but also in point of honor, that the good name and the good fame of his stockholders suffer not from selfish disregard of the men in their employ. Let the church teach equally that the manager of the labor organization also is a trustee, that he has no right to lead his followers to disregard the rights of others in their efforts to establish their own. Let the church see to it that her mouth is not stopped by gags of gold. Let her denounce the wrong-doings against society of the wealthy capitalist, in his control of organizations, as warmly as it denounces the wrongs done by organized labor. Let the church openly give her sympathy to flesh and blood

rather than to dollars and cents; but because she does so, let her denounce the wrongs done in the name of labor as bravely as she denounces the wrongs done by capital. And finally, let the church teach with increasing earnestness that duty and responsibility go with privilege, that those who have received much from the community owe the community much. So shall the leaven of Christ's doctrine of human brotherhood tend more and more towards its longed-for consummation—the realization of that divine ideal in the affairs of men when it may be said, not only that an injury to one is the concern of all, but that the good of all is the constant concern of every one.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the further discussion of this subject, "The Relation of the Church to the Capital and Labor Question," we have the very great pleasure of having to participate with us a representative of the laboring men themselves, Mr. E. H. Rogers.

RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE CAPITAL AND LABOR QUESTION.

BY MR. E. H. ROGERS, OF CHELSEA, MASS.

Mr. President and Christian Friends: The modern Protestant world looks to Christ mainly as a personal Saviour. Our systems of theology, it is true, verbally recognize him as Prophet, Priest and King; but they have hitherto taken no intelligent note of his pre-existing function, as the Master Builder, under God, of the universe.

It is self-evident that, as the prophetical and priestly offices imply and indeed assert his power as a king, so they all point toward the inference that a world must have been created by him to form the arena upon which his power should be exercised. The fact that this commanding proof of the divinity of our Lord has been obscured, has not been due to any lack of evidence in the Scriptures. It is remarkable that St. John, though the most spiritual of the evangelists, should begin his gospel with the statement that, "All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that hath been made." The unknown author of the Epistle to the Hebrews also recognizes the basic relation of Christ to the outward and visible frame-work of nature in the expression which he applies to him: "Through whom also he made the worlds."

St. Paul agrees also with these statements, and we are not without the direct testimony of the Lord himself upon this point: "My Father worketh even until now, and I work." To which we may add with undoubted propriety, the following words with reference to his earthly parentage: "My Father was a toiler, and I too toil." The incarnation modified somewhat his function, and makes him the Master Workman of the laboring masses.

The incidental evidence which the gospels offer upon this point

is very strong. Christ repeatedly uses the term "hireling" in a depreciatory sense. The great body of the people of his day, as of the present, were either slaves or wage-workers. Now, as it will not be claimed that the Master intended to offer gratuitous disrespect to the industrious poor, it follows that he did deliberately use language which reveals the fact that the wage or "hireling" system, by which the labor of Christendom is at present conducted, does not meet his approval. With such discrimination did he do this, that the words of the evangelists will bear a very close analysis. In the tenth chapter of St. Luke, the expression is used in both versions, "For the laborer is worthy of his hire." But I am told by competent scholars that the original Greek calls for the use of a very different word, namely, "reward," instead of "hire," an alteration which would fully express the evident intention of Christ to do honor to labor, and it would also emphasize his censorious use of the depreciatory expression "hireling," in other connections.

I have thus briefly outlined some of the reasons for believing that Jesus Christ, in addition to his other titles of honor, is the Supreme Master Builder of the universe. This function precedes and underlies all the others, and it will not reach its consummation until the earth shall present the ripened fruit foretold by the Hebrew prophets.

It is now in order to make an unprejudiced inquiry whether the slow and troubled progress of the divine kingdom is not largely due to our failure, hitherto, to recognize the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the above-named capacity. I am not so presuming as to attempt to thrust my unsupported individual opinions, in such an important matter, upon you. The Protestant working-people of America are already upon record in a very pronounced effort looking toward the final adoption, in our churches, of measures of a distinctively secular character. It came about as follows:

During the year 1872 a group of wage-working laymen, resident in Boston and its vicinity, formed themselves into an association called "The Christian Labor Union." The central idea of this organization was expressed in the third paragraph of its constitution, which reads thus:

"The Christian Labor Union assumes that Jesus founded no new church, but that he came to expand the one then existing

into perfect form, by laying aside its cumbrous ceremonial, and unfolding to their fullness those spiritual principles in it which pertained to the temporal life of man, as well as by bringing man into a right relation to God"

The Union also urged upon all Christians the prayerful consideration of three practical propositions. The first of these would extend the obligations of church organization and membership to such mutual care in sickness and pecuniary distress, as is now provided in the various benefit societies. The second would direct the attention and secure the support of the churches in their corporate capacity, to all forms of industrial co-operation, from the Trade Union to the isolated Christian community. The third calls upon the churches to expand the above principles and measures to their full limits, by withdrawing the support which they now tacitly give to the maxims of trade, substituting therefor the Bible teaching that "labor cost is the just limit of price."

The above Union was in active operation for the period of six years. It held two conventions in Boston; one of them in the vestry of Park Street Church, the other in Winthrop Hall, the religious home of the Congregationalists. It raised and spent more than a thousand dollars in publishing two periodicals, *Equity*, and *The Labor Balance*, also a number of tracts. Its membership involved a wide range of opinion, but a remarkable degree of harmony pervaded its councils. It had also an outside membership of a very comprehensive kind. The Catholic church was represented in the person of the late Hon. T. Wharton Collens, of New Orleans, La., widely known in that city; he was its largest patron in respect to funds. On the other extreme of doctrine a devout layman of Montreal, Wm. Brown, a Presbyterian—also deceased—sympathized strongly with the aims of the Union.

It is worthy of special notice, that it commanded the respect of other labor organizations. A most determined effort was made by one of them, however, to crush it by ridicule, but without success. This assault came from the theoretic anarchists. Its defeat disclosed the fact that considerable numbers of rationalistic working people recognize Scriptural truths on secular subjects.

I have been thus particular in the account of this organization, for the reason that it seems to have been of the nature of a prophecy of future developments on the same line of thought. It was

begun without enthusiasm, but with a great sense of religious obligation. It ended from natural causes, without the discouragement of its members. Those of them who are now living are as confident to-day as they were then that Jesus Christ, our Master Workman, is now directing the great crisis which is upon the world. The result, we apprehend, will be rest for the bodies as well as the souls of all who labor in his vineyard.

Our reasons for this belief base themselves on natural conditions and exposures. It is now some years since the more observant and ingenuous students of political economy admitted certain facts having a very important bearing upon the operation of commercial law, in its relation both to labor and capital. It was observed that wages did not fluctuate with the freedom attaching to the price of merchandise; more than this, it became evident that the conditions of labor in its relation to the duration of daily toil were so disastrous that it is universally true that, "The more hours men work in any staple branch of manufactures, the less they receive in the form of wages."

Out of these observations and conclusions an axiomatic truth has been evolved, namely, that human labor cannot be wisely or justly treated as a commodity. The reasons for this are as follows: The labor of a human being stands in such relations to his personality that it cannot be held or hoarded for an advance in price, as merchandise and money are; its capacity of exercise perishes by the mere lapse of time. The trader and the capitalist can wait without obvious and necessary injury, but the lost time of the laborer carries with it his opportunity to toil, while it is passing. The labor, which should have been developed yesterday, has gone beyond the control of its owner. Under the unrestricted operation of commercial law, the great body of working people are held so rigidly to the universal daily necessities of food, clothing and shelter for themselves and those dependent upon them, that they must accept, at the moment of its offer, such wages as their state of development makes essential to their life. There would not be so much to be said about these disastrous conditions as there is, if working people were homogeneous. If all were married, or if all were single, or if all were adult males or adult females, or, still further, if all were youths, manifestly a uniform scale of wages might be adopted having the elements of justice; but as it is, single men constantly underbid married men, hence the family

dwindles. Both classes of adults are underbid by youths, because they can work for less than even the single man or woman can do. Superficial reformers demand the same pay for women as is given to a man for the same amount of work. But it is impossible to comply with this demand under individualized competition. The facts which have been given show that neither men nor women are paid for what they produce; they are only paid for what they have come to regard as necessary costs of living. A woman can unquestionably live upon less income than a man, and as long as wage competition continues, a living is all that she will get. The above remarks, however, need qualification in all cases in which the organization of the trades enables them to obtain justice.

But we must follow the effects of wage competition still further, if we would learn its final and most impressive lesson. We have seen that it breaks down the family; the state and the church are both involved in any disaster to the home, and this danger comes in its most impressive form when a heathen people, with their narrow needs and consequent low wages, invade, as the Chinese and some other depressed peoples are now doing, our partially Christianized civilization. Under normal conditions of national growth, the differences of sex, age and condition, whether married or single, which have been alluded to, present indeed great obstacles to industrial equity; but these are modified by the influences which cluster around and spring out of national unity. Commercialism finds its climax in the effort to remove this last barrier which lies in its way.

One more exposure of labor demands our attention. Under present conditions, it is incumbent upon capitalists to withhold employment from those who would be glad to labor, using, instead of their toil, the vast forces of modern invention. The highest authority in Massachusetts estimates the cost of machine power equal to that of a man at thirty-one cents a day; so that in this aspect of his exposures, every human laborer has to bid against a dummy, whose cost of maintenance is even less than that of the Chinese.

The vast accumulation of national wealth which is accruing under these conditions is heavily loaded, in the eyes of Christian sociologists, with the unavoidable consequence, that what is wealth to one class is debt to another, and those who are in debt for it are very largely those whose illy requited manual toil produced the most of it. Under these circumstances, the rapidly

increasing wealth of the country is an occasion for anxiety rather than boasting.

These last considerations are still further intensified by the investigations already spoken of, concerning the functions of capital. It has been held until within a few years that the wages of labor are paid from accumulated capital. Out of this belief the "Wage Fund" theory originated. It naturally followed, from this view, that cultivated society was inclined to wink at the oppression of the poor in their wages, inasmuch as the money thus obtained constituted a permanent fund from which future laborers were to be supported. But the whole theory has been triumphantly refuted. Capital, philosophically considered, is only a "tool" in the laborer's hands. In a large sense we are always and everywhere paid out of the production in which we are at the time engaged. Capital has, of course, some economic value even as a tool, but it is entirely secondary to that which is usually claimed for it. The facilities which capitalists have to stint the just reward of toil, and the motives they have to increase the facilities of production, are prominent factors in hastening the coming industrial crisis.

These two remarkable developments concerning labor and capital have sapped the foundations of the received systems of political economy. They confirm the doctrine of the Bible, that large accumulations of gain-gotten wealth are not only unnecessary, but that they are positively injurious to society. I will say, in this connection, that I find no evidence in the Scriptures that they or their authors are opposed to the accumulation of wealth from natural sources; and under such customs as prevailed during the patriarchal and theocratic systems of society the work-people of Abraham and Boaz were not strikers.

It thus appears that the wisdom of the century which has elapsed since Adam Smith attempted to prove that self-interest forms a sufficient foundation for economic science, has come to nought. It remains to be seen that the Bible is correct in its teachings, that the only safe guide for men in their economic as in all other affairs is self-sacrifice. It may also further appear that the conditions of general prosperity are such that, in the last analysis, capitalists are as much dependent on equitable organization as we have seen that laborers are. For this purpose I shall appeal directly to the Old Testament—the Bible of Christ—for what seems to me to be a sufficient authority for my belief that the principles of the

sociology of Moses must be studied and applied to the exigencies of modern society. Apprehending that this inquiry is what Christ is now prompting in his function as the Master Workman, I shall carry the argument forward to the gospels.

The Book of Deuteronomy contains, in the fifteenth verse of the eighteenth chapter, the following prophecy of Moses, addressed to the children of Israel: "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken."

This prediction has been generally accepted as referring to Christ. It is remarkable in two respects; it stands alone as a prophecy, and it is immediately reaffirmed in the same chapter as a divine promise, so that it comes to us with the additional authority which is understood to attach to the expression, "Thus saith the Lord." In making further allusion to Scripture, I shall rely upon this conjoined prophecy and promise, as a corner-stone to the outline of a theology which shall respect existing opinions and belief in relation to the unseen world, but which shall insist on a more practical recognition of the exposures of the present life. We sing with emotive fervor concerning the gospel, "that the half was never told." But we little suspect that this is literally true! We adore Christ as a being filled "with grace and truth," but we know little or nothing of him as one "in whom were hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."

The Protestant world is nearly a unit in asserting that Christ "claimed no authority over secular affairs." But if this is the correct idea of the scope of his mission, what becomes of the strongly marked characteristics of Moses, by which nearly the whole force of the old dispensation was developed in the direction of laws and institutions having for their evident aim the material prosperity of the common people. Certainly these characteristics are not presented in the modern gospel. It does not proclaim a Christ who has even attempted to relieve us from the harsh natural conditions of poverty and excessive toil. A careful study of the evangelists reveals the existence of doctrinal misconceptions in this direction of a very marked character. To the work of their exposure we will now address ourselves, appealing for this purpose again to the Old Testament before passing to the gospels.

In the eighteenth chapter and twentieth verse of the Book of Numbers, the following statement is made by Jehovah to the high

priest Aaron. "And behold I have given the children of Levi all the tenth in Israel, for an inheritence for their service which they serve, even the service of the tabernacle of the congregation."

As ordinarily understood, the above services were limited to the administration of the imposing ritual of the ceremonial law. That this view falls far short of the real facts in the case, is evident from the following summary of the functions of the Levites, from the "Commentary on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews," written some years ago by the late Dr. E. C. Wines, a social scientist of reputation, and also a Christian believer. "The tribe of Levi then comprehended the learned of all names; the sages and professors of law and jurisprudence, of medicine and physiology, of the physical and mathematical sciences; in short, all the so-called liberal arts and sciences, the possession and application of which constitute the civilization of a country. It was to be the chief instrument of a continuing and progressive mental, moral and religious culture of the people. Its business was to produce, preserve and protect all the necessary sources and conditions of national civilization; to form and train up the people of the country to be obedient, free, useful citizens and patriots, living to the benefit of the state, and prepared to die in its defense." Briefly stated, the meaning of the above is, that when the Hebrew people paid their yearly tax of a tenth of their crops, or their cattle, they also paid in the same act, not only their preachers, doctors and lawyers, but all their professional men of every kind. In other words, every individual of the nation could claim—under proper conditions, of course—the services of the cultivated classes of the country without further fee or reward. In addition to this, they had no rent to pay.

This view of Dr. Wines is sustained by the testimony of the Syrian missionary, Dr. W. M. Thompson, who says in his well-known volume, "The Land and the Book" that "The Hebrew commonwealth, or church, was a religious corporation, which guaranteed extensive worldly advantages to every faithful member. The letter of its promises is almost wholly temporal, and if we glance back at the history of the Holy Land, from Abraham to this day, we shall find that religion has been inseparably interwoven with the secular affairs of the people."

The authority, however, of any number of modern scholars would be of but little account in such a weighty matter, were it not sustained by the general course of revelation. At this point I am at

liberty to refer to the Book of Proverbs for very direct evidence supporting the positions already taken. It is now conceded that these sayings were not all of them written by Solomon. It is in the very nature of a proverb that it shall originate among the people, growing out of their circumstances and experience. Seen from this point, the maxims to which Solomon gave the sanction of his name, demonstrate that the Hebrew people were, for nearly five centuries at least, under the control of a deep religious sociology. This book magnifies the divine law; it deprecates usury, and it points out the evils of suretyship in such a manner as to prove the corporate character and action of the Levitical priesthood as organized by Moses. The tithe was undoubtedly received by them as a body, and they were responsible as such for the acts of their individual members. This made it not only selfish and dishonorable for one of them to seek private advantage by giving bonds, but treason to the church-state of which they were members, and impiety toward God. The denunciation of usury is, of itself, decisive of the sociological character of the law, for it is conceded that no limit can be put on speculative price without the help of organization. It is evident that the Levitical function was in such active exercise, in organic relations to the welfare of the people, as to be gratefully recognized by them in their homely sayings. The moral grandeur of the Proverbs as a historical exponent of the sociology of Moses can only be fully realized by a comparison of its leading ideas with those of our own times, as expressed by Benjamin Franklin in "Poor Richard's Almanac."

The relation of the great Hebrew prophets to this theme must be passed for lack of time. I pause a moment, however, to say that Zechariah contains evident allusions to the culmination of the industrial question. The closing verses of his fifth chapter point, if I mistake not, very directly to our country as the location, and its two great churches as the means by which righteousness shall be established in the earth. These verses are as follows: "Then lifted I up mine eyes and looked, and behold there came out two women, and the wind was in their wings; for they had wings like the wings of a stork: and they lifted up the ephah between the earth and the heaven. Then said I to the angel that talked with me, Whither do these bear the ephah? And he said unto me, "To build it a house in the land of Shinar, and it shall be established and set there upon her own base."

This prophecy connects in a very lucid manner with the twelfth chapter of Revelation, where "the woman flies upon the two wings of a great eagle"—our National emblem—"into the wilderness," where she is "helped by the earth."

The discovery of America was, so Charles Sumner says, "the greatest event of secular history." Upon its soil civil government has, theoretically at least, reached its highest form in the establishment of a republic. The question now presents itself, whether the church of Christ is not to receive a similar impulse, and, in the words of a preacher who has already responded to the new forces, "burst in glory from the dead chrysalis accumulations of many centuries."

We now come to the all-important consideration of the language and actions of Christ on the topic under consideration. In the Sermon on the Mount he honored the "Law" in the most conspicuous manner, declaring "That he came not to destroy the law, or the prophets," thus most remarkably approving the denunciations of the people by the Hebrew seers, for disobeying it. He proceeds to recognize its permanent obligation by saying that it would not "pass away" until the "heavens and the earth" should fail; and, still further, comments on its perfection by the allusion to its "least commandments."

We cannot suppose that Christ referred to the ceremonial law; with his appearance on the earth, all occasion for its continued observance had ceased. It is equally vain to limit the scope of his language to the brief wording of the Ten Commandments; manifestly the grand features of the sociology of the Hebrews were designed in order to enable them to comply fully with the ten elementary commandments of the "law." That I am justified in these conclusions, will appear from his conduct in the synagogue at Nazareth, as recorded in the fourth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel.

This was Christ's first public act after his baptism. It had been preceded, it is true, by the marriage at Cana; by his presence there he recognized the family as lying at the base of human society, but in the proceedings at Nazareth he vindicated his claim to lordship over the more comprehensive organizations of the church-state which Moses had founded under his direction. He read from the Book of Isaiah as follows: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach good tidings

to the poor ; he hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind ; to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

In commenting upon the above, I remark that in this, Christ's inaugural address to his countrymen, he confines himself entirely to material benefits; but the full force of his language can only be felt by a fuller knowledge of the circumstances than we find in the current commentaries. The Hebrew world of labor was fast lowering to the gentile level of slavery, which was the irresistible tendency of the masses of the Roman Empire. Debt was inevitable. Chattelship unavoidably ensued, the debtor being sold to satisfy the claims of his creditors. While the Sabbatic periods of the Hebrew sociology were observed, this bondage could not continue over seven years ; but these had fallen into contempt, under a veil so thin as to be transparent. Christ announced his intention to liberate the slaves of Nazareth ! That his meaning was apparent, is very evident from the social convulsion which followed; that he barely escaped with his life, is plainly stated.

Now, if Christ's mission was, as modern theology asserts, wholly spiritual, and limited to the individual conscience, he might, so far as we can see, have availed himself, in the Judgment Hall at Jerusalem, of the whole power of the Roman government, by simply telling Pilate that he did not propose to interfere with any of the existing institutions of Judea or Galilee. But he did not do this, and the reason is evident; these transactions at Nazareth would have condemned him even if no other occurrences of the same nature had transpired.

But there were other acts of Christ which deserve our notice in this connection. His conduct in Galilee warrants the belief that he intended to follow in the steps of Moses in caring for the temporal welfare of the people. The twelve and the seventy were sent out with the command, " Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils." A single allusion by St. Mark to "repentance" excepted, there is not a word in the Galilean gospel about baptism, regeneration, or any other rite or experience, which we have been accustomed to associate with Christianity. But the primal gospel was also organic in its nature; the two commissions which were sent out by Christ were not limited to personal evangelizing. On the contrary, they were directed by him to inquire, when they entered a city, who in it was " worthy;" and the

account renders it probable that these parties were approached in their public relations. That both missions referred to communities in their organized capacities, is still further indicated in the instructions to "wipe off the dust" of the cities which rejected them, to "salute no man by the way," and "to go not from house to house;" peculiarities which would dispense with many of the ordinary activities of the apostolic gospel as we now have it, such as tract distribution, pastoral visits, prayer-meetings, revivals, and the like. In short, there is very little in the instructions or in the proceedings on these occasions of a spiritual character.

The awful woes leveled against these cities by Christ are strangely disproportionate in volume and force, if regarded as addressed solely to individuals. But if we consider that the King came in his royal authority to his own, proposing the reformation of all that was wrong in public institutions as well as in private character, and that his rejection by them was decisive, not only of the fate of the nation, but that it modified temporarily his relation to the whole race, then we can perceive its propriety. Its importance may be inferred from the episode at the Last Supper, when the Master called the attention of the apostles to the orders he had formerly given them, to proclaim the gospel of the kingdom to the Galileans, and reversed them to suit the altered circumstances, warning them to "sell their cloaks and buy swords."

I have time for only one more statement, which I draw from the occurrences of the great Forty Days. It is a most extraordinary thing that the last, and apparently the most important of all of the discourses of Christ should have been addressed to two otherwise unknown men during the walk to Emmaus; and that of this discourse a single verse should be all that is preserved, as follows: "Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, be expounded unto them in all the Scriptures, the things concerning himself."

I trust that I shall be pardoned for avowing my belief that the above discourse was addressed to humble workingmen, and that its oral dissemination accounts in large measure for the extraordinary success of the early church in its appeal to the poor of the world. I cannot doubt but that it related, in part at least, to the material aspects of the heavenly kingdom—aspects which unhappily have been obscured in the lapse of ages.

Finally, I call to mind the wonderful vision of St. John, and as I have studied diligently its message, I find that the last "voice"

of command from Christ in heaven bears directly upon our theme. It is as follows :

" Come forth, my people, out of Babylon, that ye have no fellowship with her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." (Rev. xviii. 4.)

GENERAL DISCUSSION.

REMARKS BY REV. A. C. SCHADE.

Mr. President: You will perceive that I speak altogether in German. I did not have time to study the English language as I would like to have done, because I had to work amongst the Germans.

I fell in with socialism in Switzerland twenty years ago. They wanted to make me an agitator. And since that time I have studied the question of socialism. Six years ago, in Cleveland, I was called an alarmist, but I am justified to-day in making a little alarm.

Mr. President, let me appeal to this grand Convention to some practical end for the laboring Christians. In the socialistic organizations there is crystallizing the anti-Christian spirit of the nineteenth century, and they will try to get every workman in. If they get our workmen in their societies, we will not have them in churches. Before they get them all in, the church has to awaken and try to organize them. The necessity is proved to me by the fact that some capitalists of Cleveland don't like organized society at all. But if we can direct their thoughts in such a way as to guide them and instruct them, and, by the way, tell them, " We love you," then we accomplish a great deal which all the other organizations of to-day do not accomplish. You will find my pamphlet here that I wrote for a dozen of millionaires in Cleveland. They were not acquainted with the question, and when they came into our secret sessions, where we wanted to counteract the anarchistical schemes of two years ago, I had to repeat the same things every time, so I thought I would write them down. But they didn't have time to read them, and they read the newspapers from Chicago, and they got the result which I predicted. And I know of what I speak from observation of history, that in

twenty years we will give a little more time to the question, if we do not act in time. There are still in every city, even among the foreigners of whom there is so much said, many who would like to be led. Now it amounts to something, if in every large city we will have ten men of each congregation to organize in a Christian way. No one church can do it, and I would not advise to follow that example of Cardinal Gibbons. We want to have concerted action, and not only in one city. I guess that was the reason why the effort in Boston died of a natural death. We must organize in every city in the Union, not a secret society, but a strongly and well organized society, so that we are sure no infidel and no socialist will get in, and the name of Christ and the Christian spirit will banish them from such a Christian laborers' party or society. Now give me ten of each congregation, and I can prevent a strike in a shop of 2,000 workers. I have proved it. Mr. Chisholm (I may mention some names : you will excuse me, I am a German) told me one day, that they could not open the shops, and he was relying on my thirty men (I have fifty in my congregation) that they should go to work. By the way, some of them had been in France with their guns, and they were not afraid to march through two or three thousand strikers. I told Mr. Chisholm, "They will not break the strike this time." Next day it was put on the boards that prices in London had advanced, and they would grant the ten cents ; and the machines are going still. I hope we will work on that line, my friends. You have an opportunity to speak to the capitalists; although I think very few of you have a chance to listen to the German talk in the street-cars as I do, and as my Brother Schauffler has a chance to listen to the talk of Bohemians on the street-cars, and on their way to the shop and going home.

We have to study these things in the sessions of our societies, and we will have a chance to ferret out the anarchists who are coming into these shops and trying to overturn the minds and reasons of our Christian people by their everlasting discontent. Give us a small organization, but a true one, and sustain it, and go in yourself and extend a hand of Christian fellowship to a poor laborer, if he is a Christian. I don't believe in a brotherhood of socialists with Christian people. I can't have socialists in my congregation.

One word more. I can't have a capitalist in my congregation. [Laughter.] Mr. President, I will tell you why. I would tell him the truth—because I am independent. A minister who has to

watch his salary is not very apt to tell the rich members in the church what they are to do. I can find out some of your capitalists who don't believe in Christ. And I will not drive them out of the church because they are socialists and capitalists ; but I will tell them they cannot be in our church, and cannot be my brethren, if they don't love my Lord Jesus Christ.

MR. GEORGE MAY POWELL, OF PHILADELPHIA.

CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN ARBITRATION COUNCIL.

Three years' intense work in seeking to aid in securing Christian settlements of strikes and lockouts, and in advancing other phases of right in the labor question, has taught us that the influence of evangelical religion has been the star of hope in one of the darkest, wildest storms that ever swept over our country. In this work we have sometimes needed the counsel and influence of senators and merchant princes and others. All these have received us kindly, but we have never found any practical co-operation, except from such of these men as were sons of the church. Counsel and influence were all we asked, as we have paid our own bills in it thus far.

We all see there are millions of money involved in these struggles; but we consider even these vast sums small, beside the hunger and cold, and mental and other physical sufferings of women and children, and of poor, helpless, honest men who were more than willing to work. But all these millions of dollars and all this suffering combined are small beside the moral questions at stake. Giving a man work is often to save him. By parity of reasoning, to throw him out of work is to lose him, and it may be his family, *soul* as well as body. Therefore, as the government Labor Bureau chief has well said, in substance, "The labor question is one of ethics." Hence the propriety of discussing it in such a presence as this, in the form of the "*Relation of the Church to the Capital and Labor Question.*"

If this question is viewed through sordid and selfish lenses, it is as enigmatic as the handwriting once on a Babylonian palace wall. Its solution will confuse and baffle those most wise in worldly wisdom. Yet seen and analyzed in the light of a sermon

delivered near twenty centuries ago, on a Syrian mountain as a pulpit, its interpretation is arrived at with the clearness and precision of algebra.

In the work of my committee, we have not been able to settle as many of these industrial turmoils as we could wish; but we have, directly and indirectly, settled those involving many millions of dollars in the aggregate. Better still, we have helped those most directly interested to see how to settle them for themselves. Thinking they had done it themselves, they were better satisfied, and so made more willing to abide steadfastly by the results.

Our work has also been so blessed that we have been enabled to "side-track" some gathering labor troubles off into profit-sharing, or into productive co-operative measures.

In all these lines of effort we have relied largely on scattering hundreds of millions of tract pages on arbitration and other Christian measures, through the secular and the religious periodical press.

See, for example, "*Strikes, Lockouts and Arbitration,*" an article in the *Century* of April, 1886. In it there were about a quarter million issue of rules of arbitration, which had been tested in strike settlements which we had successfully organized and completed. Also notes and comments on the same, making it easy for many others to satisfactorily use them, as many did, all over the country, without any further action on our part. Over a further million of these rules, etc., were issued and scattered, through republication from this magazine, by local newspapers from ocean to ocean. Better still, accounts of how such troubles had been *prevented* by such conciliation as that in the Peace Courts of France, and by the culture of Christian relations between those earning and paying wages, were set forth in that paper and its more than a million of re-issue. See also an address of ours on the general subject of Industrial Friction, before the managers of the Chicago Board of Trade, October 26, 1886, and an address on "Profit-sharing" which we gave at the Social Science Congress at Saratoga, September 9, 1887.

We treat liquor and tobacco as the great side-track of waste of billions of the people's money, and Christian temperance work, especially that of the W. C. T. U., as the track to run this treasure into the true economic interests of labor and capital. We claim that "*under-consumption*" is a term giving truer diagnosis of one great cause of labor troubles than "over-production;" because,

when the mass of the people spend the two billion or more of dollars, now worse than wasted annually in drink and dissipation, in buying home-made products sorely needed in their homes, the song of labor will be pitched in the major instead of the minor key.

In our public papers and addresses we recognize home and city missions—especially the latter—as the Gibraltar of this whole subject. But we find, too, the weakness, as well as *all the strength we have*, in the church. For example, we see in the Sabbath the base-line of this campaign. The question being, as held by Mr. Carroll D. Wright, the government Labor Bureau chief, "one of ethics," conscience is its spinal column, and the Sabbath the day for it to be given strength, so that laborers and capitalists may see just what the Golden Rule demands of them, and have grace given to act accordingly. Yet an address on the Sabbath question, given by a prominent city pastor, which we hoped to use with good effect, turned out to be instead, a weapon of the enemy. He treated the Sabbath of the Puritan as having no foundation in the New Testament. He took the specific ground that, as the curved line is "the line of beauty in art," so we must vary our practice in Sabbath observance by changing demands of our times. He even sneered at the Puritanism of one who would not ride on a Sunday street-car.

Aside from the question as to whether or not the theater is the lock of strength of the demon of impurity, we recognize it as a terrible enemy to the economic interests of labor and capital, in exclusively secular senses. It is the place where tens of thousands of skilled workmen and women actually spend a majority of their earnings. They do this to an extent that keeps them sharply up to the danger line financially. Consequently, in times of labor trouble, their most natural tendency is to swell the ranks of the dangerous classes.

Notwithstanding it was set forth in a request by our Commission to a large and influential body of clergy, to do some of the kind of preaching on this subject that *hits* something, they declined. Investigation gave us sadly significant proof that they declined for fear of consequences of hitting paying and influential members and officers of their churches. But we will not now further multiply unpleasant illustrations.

The importance of city missions being what it is to the labor question, likewise the training of young men for the ministry,

what the laity will do in the future for their extension and support, is intensely germane to the subject before us. That they are not up to the mark is seen by such a fact as that there are several sons of the church in our country whose yearly net income is greater than all that is annually spent by all our Protestant denominations, in either home or city or foreign missions, or in educating theological students.

Antinomianism in the church, active as well as passive, is a twin brother of Anarchy. It is seen in treatment of domestic servants; in *slacktwistedness* on such subjects as the Sunday, and dress, and amusement questions; in many a church member giving more money for either theaters or tobacco than for all good objects put together. Still, what is wanted even more than money is for every Christian man, woman and child to be an active, every-day missioner. No man or woman is likely to become an anarchist, or, in an unwise sense, a labor agitator, who has been the subject of personal mission work by any Christian worker, young or old. When the sons and daughters of the church are simply doing the kind of daily mission work that their own spiritual health, nay *life*, demands, labor troubles, and others like unto them, will vanish like morning mists when the sun arises in its strength. No one who is not giving and working and doing it, as one here has well said, "hilariously," is not living up to his or her privilege or responsibility as a Christian citizen. All this should be done in a loving, fraternal way. For the Bread of Life is not to be given like throwing a bone to a dog; nor with an "I am holier than thou" air; nor yet as if the service was done as a great accommodation to the Almighty.

Sometimes, when the heart sinks in view of the magnitude and powers of evil influences, especially among those to whom we have a right to look for co-operation and sympathy, we find this thought as "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." "This is God's work, and he is able to take care of it." We love to think, watch in hand, how he is swinging the whole solar system around the great central sun of the Pleiades, at the rate of three thousand miles every sixty seconds! This, too, on an orbit so vast that ages are required to once measure the circuit. Then, to turn to the thought that he makes and cares for organisms so minute that six thousand of them could stand on dress parade on a line an inch long.

The question, in conclusion, is not, "Is he able and willing to take good care of these matters?" but, "Are we on his side, *or the other?*" Jesus taught nothing with more emphasis—not even his own divinity—than that *many* clergy as well as laity, who expect to enter the gate that is golden, will *not*. Let us all then, as we go down from this mount of communion, with solemn hush in our hearts, ask ourselves whether we as integers of his visible church are doing our part to have it stand as the bulwark of right, to give comfort and succor and strength to all the wrongs and the rights which are represented in this great question of labor and capital.

REV. G. K. MORRIS, D. D., OF PHILADELPHIA.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It appears to me that we cause confusion of thought upon this subject, by forgetting that the entire quarrel between labor and capital is but another expression of human depravity. If we study the two classes, we find that the members of them have identically the same aim. Each man is endeavoring to do the best he can for himself. We discover that they are all governed by precisely the same principles, commonly spoken of as the principles of business, taught in political economy; and these principles are the very essence of human selfishness, formulated by the intelligence of Christian civilization, without its Christ-like spirit. In other words, the principles of business are a civilized barbarism—every man for himself, and every man using all the power he has to get advantage over every other man.

The mistake of the church has been in permitting the so-called principles of business to pass unchallenged, and in its failure to modify them so far as they are essential, by bringing them into the warm bosom of the principles of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The principles of business teach us to formulate our activities selfishly—to buy everything in the cheapest market, to sell everything in the dearest market; to forget that what we buy and sell is but the outcome of soul energy, the form given by the exercise of the power of flesh and blood. Now, the principles of the gospel say, "Let not every man look upon his own things only, but every man also on the things of another." Let us teach the gospel, as

formulated in this word, to our young aspirants for a business education. Let us teach, in every business college, to be thoughtful for your fellow-men—"Whatsoever ye would that others should do to you, do ye also to them." Forget not the effects of your sharpness and your superiority of intellectual endowment, and your superiority through the endowment of capital. Forget not the effects of your rush and push and energy upon quivering hearts and throbbing brains and immortal souls.

In a word, sir (for I do not want this bell to startle my nerves), the disease is a disease of the heart. The great Physician is the Lord Jesus Christ. The remedy is the gospel, and we, the ministry, are its representatives. God help us to study the labor question, to get the mastery of it; then to take Christ to the capitalists and Christ to the workingman, and see to it that the great machinery of business keeps time with the great heart-throb of Christ and with the pulses of humanity. [Applause.]

MR. JOHN D. CUTTER, OF BROOKLYN.

GENTLEMEN: I haven't any speech, but I would like to say one word.

This is a selfish world, and we are all governed by selfish principles. I take it that these speakers we have heard to-day are in the main governed by selfishness. They have not cheated the widow, they have not bought something for much less than it was worth; but the natural tendency is to selfishness. And yet we hope for the triumph of the gospel, and we hope to convert the masses to it.

I once knew a gentleman who wanted to buy a factory for the purposes of his business. A man came to him and said, "I want to sell a factory that is worth $20,000, but as I am much pressed for money, and must sell it, I will sell it to you now for $15,000." The gentleman thus addressed said, "I never make a bargain of such importance as this without consulting my wife. I will see her, and give you an answer later." He consulted his wife, relating to her what the man had said. The wife asked, "Is the factory worth $20,000?" "Well," said the husband, "I suppose it is." "Then," said the wife, "why should you not pay $20,000 for it?" He went back to the shop next day and told the man that he would take the factory

and pay him $20,000 for it. [Applause.] Now, is that an exception to the general rule? Do the speakers that we have heard to-day do business on that principle? When a girl comes to them and wants to be employed in the kitchen, and asks for $20 a month wages, do they tell her that $25 is little enough? Or, do they not, in effect, say, "The gospel is a good rule, but I cannot live up to it." I certainly cannot live up to it.

The great trouble, as it seems to me, with the laboring classes is, that we are not only selfish, but we take an unjust advantage of them. We do not curb selfishness by statute law, as we ought to do. Take, for instance, the cases of the railroad corporations. Everybody sees that there is great injustice arising from the operations of those companies. Everybody sees that speculation is debauching our people. When a law is wanted to regulate and control a bank or an insurance company, and make it perfectly safe, the legislatures of our states find no trouble about it; at least they do not in New York State, in which I live. But in making a law for a railroad company they say, in substance, "Go anywhere you like; take what you want; issue such stocks and bonds and mortgages as may suit you—taking in as much 'water' as you please." [Laughter.]

Now, it is just as easy for a law to be made that will regulate and control a railroad company as any other company. The railroad is the highway of the future, and no railroad should be built anywhere except where demanded by the people, and laid out by the people's engineers. Then, when authority is given to build that road, let it be built with money that is actually paid in, represented by one kind of stock, which everybody can understand, instead of, as now, being in "preferred" and "non-preferred," "first mortgage bonds" "second mortgage bonds," "third mortgage bonds" and other bonds, on the principle of "Now you see it, and now you don't." [Laughter.] Look at the difference between railroad bonds and city bonds, and between railroad stock and bank stock! Why should men gamble in railroad bonds any more than in city bonds? Why should they gamble in railroad stocks, any more than in bank stocks? Nobody knows when railroad mortgages are being put on, or taken off.

Our laws should be made simple and clear to the average understanding, and these corporations should be kept within the proper bounds of reason. Insist upon it that this shall be done, and that

"square dealing" shall be expected of railroad companies, as of other people. Then the common people will not see such terrible injustice, such gross neglect of their interests. But it is useless to hope that this year, or some other year, we shall all come to love our neighbor better than ourselves, or as well; or that we shall pay him as much as we receive ourselves. We shall not be able to do it. We might as well admit the fact that this is a selfish world, and endeavor to adapt our laws to that fact.

REV. ALEXANDER M. PROUDFIT, OF BALTIMORE.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND BRETHREN: I wish to emphasize just two points that have been brought up in the discussion of this afternoon. In the admirable paper of Dr. McCosh, he said he desired to speak about capitalists and laborers—not about capital and labor. That is just bringing the thing down to the concrete. We have had a great deal of discussion about the abstract. This last speaker has brought the matter down to the concrete, as did the speaker before him. We need analysis as well as synthesis in this work. We want to bring the matter down to the analytic for just one moment.

The first point I wish to refer to is that respecting the alienation —the estrangement, as it was called yesterday—of our laboring classes (or the "masses") from the church. We have been told this afternoon that we must make the church free to them, and that we should call on them and welcome them among us. Dr. Morris has touched one very strong point to-day when he said that the root of all this trouble lies in the heart—that it lies in moral depravity. I believe, with all my heart, the truth of what Dr. McCosh has said, that if we ministers want to reach the people, we must seek them out in their homes. In the twenty-five years of my ministry I have pursued that course. But, although my church is wide open, and although everyone is welcome, and although I have, every Sunday of my life, in the city of Baltimore, tramps sitting in the best pews of my church—men without a linen collar and without a whole coat—although my ushers bring them in and seat them comfortably, yet I get very few of them, comparatively. I go through the streets and lanes of Baltimore, I send out my pastoral Aid Society and my church missionary, a reliable man, a young

man who is a candidate for the ministry in my church, to go and try to get the people to come. There is a deep alienation which nothing but the work of the Holy Spirit in their hearts will cure.

Now do not let the impression go out from this great assembly that the church is not seeking to win the masses. We are trying to reach them. Dr. Pierson is trying to win them, and the majority of us, I suppose, are doing all that we can to reach them. And yet we do not reach them. They are alienated from the church and from the gospel. They are wrapped up in worldliness, many of them, and in sinful pleasure. We must have an outpouring of the Holy Ghost, convincing the people of sin, righteousness and judgment, and then they will hear the gospel.

We have heard about organized capital and labor; but I am going to lift up my voice for a moment in behalf of a class of labor that is not organized and that does not have adequate protection; that is, the sewing women. Tom Hood did a glorious thing when he wrote "The Song of the Shirt." It set the whole British nation on fire. It ought to be reiterated and reiterated, and we ought to preach in that line. I have a number of sewing women in my church, and have taken pains to inquire into their circumstances and income. Let me tell you of one case—for I have time for only one.

I was asked a few weeks since to go and see a sick member of my church, a woman between seventy and eighty years of age. I found her in a third-story room on Pennsylvania Avenue. A delicate daughter, also a member of my church, was with her, working hard to support her mother, the church aiding them by a liberal sum, keeping them in a comfortable room while they wrought to keep soul and body together. The only other support of the family was a lad seventeen years old, who was learning the plumbing trade. He was a delicate boy, in danger of going into consumption. Another brother had died of consumption. I asked the young woman what she was doing for a living. She said she did sewing on pantaloons for a tailor in Baltimore. I said, "What do you get a pair?" She answered, "Thirty-five cents a pair, finding my own buttons and thread." She said the thread cost five cents for enough to sew two pairs. I asked how many pairs she could make in a day. She replied, "If I did not have to take care of my aged and helpless mother and to attend to my housework, if I could devote all my time to sewing, I could make

possibly two pairs a day. As it is, I average a pair and a half, and sometimes only one pair." Out of this she had the whole family to support, with the assistance of two or three dollars a week, which the boy was getting as a "'prentice hand." I said to her, "I will ventilate that." She turned to me with tears in her eyes and said, "Do. If you raise up your voice for the sewing women you will be doing a great work."

She is only one of a great class. And I tell you, Christian men and ministers, we need to talk more about those who have no one to fight for them, to protect their rights. The Christian women of this country need to organize one more society in addition to that which has been spoken of to-day, viz., a society to secure the rights of the sewing women. Dr. Morris has hit the nail on the head when he says it is selfishness at the bottom of the trouble. We buy where we can get goods at lowest prices, and sell where we can get the largest prices. And until men and women are willing to pay a liberal price, and to demand that the man who sells to them shall pay a liberal wage to his workers, this evil will never be remedied.

EVENING SESSION.

THURSDAY DECEMBER 8.

The Conference was led in prayer by Rev. M. Rhodes, D. D., of St. Louis.

Mr. Dodge: For nearly two days, brethren, we have studied thoughtfully the dangers which are before our country. But we are full of hope to-night. We turn our eyes toward the East to see the bow of promise, and to know just what resources God has given us with which to meet these dangers.

I feel that we are peculiarly fortunate in our Chairman for this evening—one who has done so much to bring brightness and hope to our country. I have very great pleasure in introducing, as the Chairman of this session of the Conference, General Joseph R. Hawley, United States Senator from Connecticut, who, I think, is known to all of you.

On taking the chair, General Hawley said:

"I am sure I am very much obliged to the managing committee of the Alliance, for connecting me, even in so slight a degree, with this most noble body of men, and with its remarkable work done in these three days. I regret indeed that I have not been able to hear all the papers and addresses that have been presented before you, but I congratulate myself that I am here this evening.

The subject for the evening, as you have already heard, is "The Christian Resources of Our Country." The paper is to be read by Dr. James M. King, of New York, a gentleman well known to you all, whom I have the pleasure now to introduce.

THE CHRISTIAN RESOURCES OF OUR COUNTRY.

ADDRESS BY REV. JAMES M. KING, D. D., OF NEW YORK.

I. HISTORICAL.

The Christian resources of our country rightfully claim all there is of Christ and the Bible in our history, government, laws, institutions, homes and hearts. And this embraces all that gives permanency to justice, and efficacy to mercy, and dignity to man, and glory to God. We have the cumulative resources of the education and Christian teaching of the near as well as of the remote past. We are the heirs of modern as well as of ancient history. We have the powers at our disposal, to dictate what the immediate and, with that, what the remote future of our country shall be.

When De Tocqueville, some fifty years since, returned to France and reported in permanent form the results of his wise and philosophic study of our institutions, he said: "Although the travelers who have visited North America differ on many points, they all agree in remarking that morals are far more strict there than elsewhere. It is evident that, on this point, the Americans are very superior to their progenitors, the English."

This same political philosopher said: "The new states must be religious in order to be free. Society must be destroyed unless the Christian moral tie be strengthened in proportion as the political tie is relaxed; and what can be done with a people who are their own masters, if they be not submissive to Deity? It cannot be doubted, that in the United States the instruction of the people powerfully contributes to the support of the democratic republic; and such must always be the case, I believe, where the instruction which enlightens the understanding is not separated from the moral education which amends the heart.

"The sects which exist in the United States are innumerable. They all differ in respect to the worship which is due to the Creator; but they all agree in respect to the duties which are due from man to man. Christian morality is everywhere the same. Christianity, by regulating domestic life, regulates the state. Every principle of the moral world is fixed and determinate. Religious zeal is warmed by the fires of patriotism.

"The greatest part of British America was peopled by men who, after having shaken off the authority of the pope, acknowledged no other religious supremacy. They brought with them into the New World a form of Christianity, which I cannot better describe than by styling it a democratic and republican religion. This contributed powerfully to the establishment of a republic and a democracy in public affairs; and, from the beginning, politics and religion contracted an alliance which has never been dissolved."

These utterances, as intelligent citizens, we do well to contemplate. Refugees from civil and religious persecutions founded the nation, and the legitimate offspring of such a parentage was civil and religious liberty. Almost everything worth possessing in our institutions was secured for us by our Christian ancestors. Let us hesitate before we surrender the fortresses that are the foundations and defense of our institutions.

The state, under our form of government, historically and in fact, has to recognize Christian morality as the basis of its own existence; and, therefore, while it exists for secular and civil purposes, finds itself substantially the creature of Christianity. And whenever it has found itself engaged in a struggle for its defense or existence, it has never issued from the struggle until it has adopted for its war-cry some principle that has had its birth in Christian morality. Professor Atwater, of Princeton, has said: "Morality enters into the very being of the state, as the impelling and final cause of its formation. Its very end is to promote the prevalence of justice by self-imposed laws—imposed in the exercise of its own free activity by its own constituted authorities, and not by any alien power."

Church and state co-exist in this land, but they are not wedded. They have their individual work to perform. The secular interests are guarded and promoted by the state; the moral and religious interests, by the church. And yet so closely are they related to each other that the state depends for its existence upon the

character given its citizenship by the church, and the church in turn receives protection from the state for its property, and from interference with its worship and instruction. Our experiment has proved that religious freedom is the best friend of genuine Christianity, and that it is also the best foundation for a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The voluntary principle is here the aggressive energy of Christianity. While we have no established national church, with obligatory membership, and no taxation for the support and promulgation of any creed, and while citizenship and political rights are independent of church membership, we are not a nation without religion. The union of church and state is a different question from the union of religion and the state. Union in both of these cases is possible, but separation of religion from the state is impossible. A learned law writer has said: "Those things which are not lawful under any of the American constitutions may be stated thus: 1. Any law respecting an establishment of religion. 2. Compulsory support, by taxation or otherwise, of religious instruction. 3. Compulsory attendance upon religious worship. 4. Restraints upon the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of the conscience. 5. Restraints upon the expression of religious belief." It is not toleration which is established in our system, but religious equality. We accept this summary when construed in the light of our history.

II. WE ARE A CHRISTIAN NATION.

Every government necessarily has some form of religion recognized in its state institutions, and is molded by its power. Historically, we are a Christian nation. The divine authority of the Bible is certainly taken for granted in the very make-up of our government. Every officer, from the President down to the lowest official, is inducted into office under the solemnity of an oath on that volume. The Christian religion, and the morality that it teaches, in one way or another, permeate all our institutions. Everything in our political system indicates the recognition of the principle that the Bible is the common standard of right and wrong in morals. In all the evidences of the prevalence of religion in a nation, we present an array most formidable. Look upon our Christian churches and Sabbath-schools; upon our colleges and seminaries of Christian learning; upon the distribution and study of the Bible; upon the sacredness of the Sabbath; upon the unstinted benefi-

cence and multiform charities—almost all the overflow of Christian love. Government requires the Christian oath as the standard both for entering upon the duties of citizenship and office-holding. American jurisprudence, as well as English common law, rejects the testimony of atheists, because an oath has no meaning, no sanction, in the mouth of one who does not believe in a just God and a future retribution. Government appoints days of thanksgiving, fasting and prayer. The Congress of the nation and the navy and army have their chaplains, with the salaries paid from the national treasury. States exempt church property from taxation, and employ the ministers of religion in all their penal, reformatory and beneficent institutions. The state punishes offenses against God and religion—such as Sabbath-breaking, blasphemy, perjury, sacrilege, religious imposture, and violation of burial-places.

Now, legislation is the expression of human sentiment, and it would seem to be the shallowest kind of pettifogging, to claim that the legislation in these directions of a Christian people was dictated by a desire simply to lessen human evils, regardless of the fear and favor of God, whose expressed will taught man that they were not only evils, but sins. Dr. Woolsey, in noticing the legislation in these directions, says: "On the whole, while laws against irreligious acts notice them in part on account of their human evils, I cannot help finding in them another element, proceeding from religious feelings themselves, from reverence for the divine Being irrespective of their injury to human society. Man, in his legislation, cannot get rid of his sentiments; even in the later attempts at legislation, when the limits are more exactly drawn between that which is injurious to society in some specific way, and that which is sinful, the sentiment will assert its right in defining crime or enhancing punishment."

Christianity constitutes the most important part of the common law of the land. It is the strength of the law because it is intrenched in the sentiments and affections of the people. President Dwight, of the Columbia College Law School, has recently written: "It is well settled by decisions in the courts of the leading states of the Union that Christianity is a part of the common law of the state. Its recognition is shown in the administration of oaths in the courts of justice, in the rules which punish those who willfully blaspheme, in the observance of Sunday, in the

prohibition of profanity, in the legal establishment of permanent charitable trusts, and in the legal principles which control a parent in the education and training of his children. One of the American courts states the law in this manner: 'Christianity is and always has been a part of the common law of this state. Christianity without the spiritual artillery of European countries—not Christianity founded on any particular tenets—not Christianity with an established church and titles and spiritual courts, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men.'

"The American states adopted these principles from the common law of England, rejecting such portions of the English law on this subject as were not suited to their customs and institutions. Our national development has in it the best and purest elements of historic Christianity as related to the government of states. Should we tear Christianity out of our law, we would rob our law of its fairest jewels, we would deprive it of its richest treasures, we would arrest its growth, and bereave it of its capacity to adapt itself to the progress in culture, refinement and morality of those for whose benefit it properly exists."

Goldwin Smith says: "Not democracy in America, but free Christianity in America, is the real key to the study of the people and their institutions."

III. DISTINCTIVE CHRISTIAN IDEAS.

The distinctive Christian ideas and teachings of the word of God belong to our invoice; individual liberty and the increased value set upon human life, honor to womanhood, and her elevation and emancipation, and the consequent elevation of man as this is recognized. From the moral necessities of the case the benevolence of the country is in Christian hands, or the offspring of Christian thought. Only Christianity is benevolent. Modern legal beneficence had its birth in Christ. The connection is inseparable between the Christian church and all those institutions which have the relief of human wants and the promotion of human well-being for their object. The spirit of Christian love foresaw that there would be permanent liabilities to suffering and want in this changeful and uncertain world of ours, which no extemporaneous charity could adequately meet. And this foresight has gladdened many a sad and weary heart, in spite of the abuses which human ignorance and indolence have permitted. Hence, out of Christian faith have

arisen all over the land the institutions for the relief of sin-cursed and ignorance-cursed humanity. It is this power working with us, "with a force unchanged and unwasting, upon which democratic institutions are based, with educational, philanthropic and missionary enterprise. The hospitals for the sick, the asylums for the aged, the homeless and the orphan; the consecrated ministry of skill and genuis to the blind and the deaf, as the fruit of which the blind become readers by their fingers, while the old miracle of the Lord seems repeated as the dumb are taught to articulate; the ministry to the insane and the imbecile, which has been carried in our time to such superb consummation; the ministry to even the criminal classes, who might seem severed by their offenses from further claim upon society, but for whom the plans of prison reform are incessantly at work"—all these illustrate the exhaustless Christian resources born of the new conception of man's duty to man.

Dr. Storrs writes: "In Virgil's fourth eclogue, written, perhaps, forty years before Christ, he hails with song the birth of a child who is to restore the Golden Age. His figures seem caught from the prophecies of Isaiah. The boy of whom Virgil is supposed to have written was imprisoned by Tiberius, and starved to death in his solitary dungeon. The child of whom Isaiah wrote now leads in triumph toward unreached ages, the aspiring and hopeful civilization of the world. In his name is the hope of mankind. In the sign of his cross, Christendom conquers.

"This Christianity has shown in itself the power to reconcile, to liberate, and to set forward nations, with a steadiness and a strength which had certainly before been unknown in the world."

"It has never been more signally declared than in recent years in amended legislations, expanded philanthropies, widened missions. It has made the enlightened and aspiring Christendom of to-day the fact of chief importance, therefore, in the progress of mankind; its true glory is that it has wiped the tears of sorrow from the eyes of its disciples and has comforted hearts which were desolate with grief; that it has given celestial visions to those who dwelt beneath thatched roofs, and has taught a happier humility to the proud; that it has shed victorious tranquillity on those who have seen the shadows of death closing around them, and has caused to be written over their graves the lofty words of promise and cheer, 'I am the Resurrection and the Life.'

"This is the diadem of this religion, sparkling with gems lucid and vivid, such as never were set in any philosophic or poetic crown. Because of these effects, and not merely for its influences upon cosmical progress, men have loved this religion with a passionate intensity beside which all other enthusiasms were weak. Because of these, if for nothing else, it will live in the world till human hearts have ceased to beat."

All beneficent conceptions of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man had their origin in the Christian religion, and in their hold upon man, constitute a part of our resources.

The Christian conceptions of God, of man, of man's duty toward God, of man's duty to man in politics and society, and the duties of nations toward each other, are the germs from which spring all the beneficent powers of the highest civilization.

Christianity improves man's condition by regenerating him, and does not seek to regenerate him by improving his condition. It has forced upon the mass of our population the sense of the necessity of righteousness in the spirit, as the source and the safeguard of righteousness in conduct, and has lifted into new purity the most depraved, who seem abandoned of God and man.

When its perfect purposed supremacy in the world is accomplished, there will be societies and governments as pure as the Sermon on the Mount, and as supreme over sin and evil as the incarnate Lord.

IV. VOLUNTARY SUPPORT OF CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS.

While we are a Christian nation, absolute separation of church and state is one of our principal resources of strength. Voluntary conditions have been proven here to be the best promoters of a pure religious life among the people, in that Christianity here has made greater progress in an equal period than in any other land or age. Voluntary Protestantism is the very genius of republican government. Dr. Dorner, after visiting this country in 1873, said: "Columbus was encouraged by the hope that the new land would serve the honor of our Redeemer. This is not accomplished in the sense of Columbus—through the conversion of the heathen—but in a far higher sense. The discovery of America has a connection in time and spirit with the Reformation, for, as it were, a new land arose from out the sea to serve as a bulwark and a reserve for the church of the Reformation. The Americans feel already

that they have a special mission; namely, to march in their fresh, earnest way into the fight against the skeptical and the superstitious, at the same time showing Christianity in a new light, as a living force which needs no outward human aid in order to make itself respected, but which free spirits most need."

Dr. Schaff says: "In the United States, where all denominations are equal before the law, and stand on the same voluntary footing of self-support and self-government, the Christian activities keep pace with the enormous tide of immigration and the intellectual, social and commercial growth of the people; and churches, schools, colleges, seminaries, libraries, home and foreign missionary societies, and all sorts of benevolent institutions are there, by the joint zeal of the different denominations, multiplying with a rapidity that has no parallel in the annals of the past."

V. HIGHER EDUCATION.

The higher educational resources of the country are largely under Christian control. There are 370 colleges and universities in the United States, with 3,000 professors instructing 35,000 students. About eighty per cent of the students are in denominational colleges, and ninety-four per cent of the students in denominational colleges are evangelical.

Institutions for higher education in the United States, under control of evangelical churches, have in attendance, so far as can be ascertained (with at least one-tenth not reporting), over 58,000 students, with property and endowment funds valued at over $34,000,000. It is possibly not an extravagant estimate to put the number of youth who are students in the advanced educational institutions of the churches at 175,000.

There are 120 theological seminaries of evangelical churches in the United States, with 4,000 students, and the rate of per cent of increase of students in literary and theological institutions over the increase of the population is higher than at any period in our history.

VI. THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

Fenelon says, "Moral education is the bulwark of the state." The idea of the common school is traced to an act of the colonial legislature of Massachusetts in 1642. At first it was a strictly church school, in charge of the minister of the township, and the children were carefully taught in the orthodox faith. The school-

master was next to the minister. The religious requirements were incorporated in the laws. The present and former generations of the population have been educated in schools that were never merely secular. In fact, we have not attempted purely secular education until recently, and that only to a very limited extent. While there has been no national system of public schools in the past, and while uniformity has proved itself to be, perhaps, both impracticable and undesirable under our form of government, it is to be hoped that the Christian sentiment of the people will see to it that the future develops no purely secular system of education for our citizenship. And while the local-option plan, leaving the whole question of the character of the instruction to the local school boards, to be decided by them according to the composition and wants of the community, is likely to prevail, it is to be hoped that the friends of Christian morality will come to the defense of the right of the children and youth to a kind of instruction that recognizes their responsibility and immortality, and reminds them of the fact that our institutions are the fruit of the Christian faith.

The public school system, pressed into secular uniformity, cannot meet the moral needs of our mixed population, and cannot meet the demands upon a Christian people or promote the interests of genuine Christian morality. Christianity must solve the question of the education of the masses upon Christian, and not upon secular grounds.

We are about convinced that the time has come when we must *demand* that the state, assuming to teach its citizens as a preparation for the responsibilities of citizenship, must not only recognize Christianity as the religion of the people, in conformity with historic and judicial precedent, but must require the teaching of Christian morality wherever education is supported by taxation or by state grant.

And not only must we insist upon the common schools teaching Christian morality, but when the state (as with us) enters upon the questionable work of higher education, and seeks to prepare teachers for their work in the common or higher schools, then we must put the salt of Christian morality in at these fountain-heads, or make up our minds to forfeit the respect both of God and of good men, and invite a reign of irresponsibility and immorality.

We are told that history and precedent have nothing to do with this question in its present demands for solution. As well might

the individual say that birth and educational opportunity have nothing to do with determining present duty. We are told that we must keep retreating until we reach tenable ground. This is the cry of the enemies of righteous government and of humanity, and it ought not to be echoed by the lovers of goodness or of God.

Is it not time for the populations that give character to our civilization and stability to our government to assert themselves? Is it not time to return to the foundation principles upon which our liberties and integrity as a nation rest? Is it not time to banish this sickly sentimentality that, under the hypocritical concession of religious freedom, retreats in the presence of secularism, of Jesuitism, and of atheism?

VII. THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH AS A CIVIL INSTITUTION.

Deluz, of Geneva, says: "At the very foundation of the question of the Lord's day, which we seek to enforce, is nothing less than physical and spiritual health, family and Christian life, national prosperity, and the advance of the kingdom of God."

We have the Sabbath with its sanctions protected by law in almost all of the states. The civil Sunday could not stand a decade without its Christian sanction by the consciences of the God-fearing, whose power placed the legal safeguards on the statute-books. It is a physical boon; it enhances social and family life; it saves many from incessant groveling in low and depressing employment; it breaks in upon the anxious, restless ambitions and rivalries of life; it tones down distinctions between rich and poor, capitalists and laborers; it gives breathing-time, which, at the least, may be used aright. It is used by multitudes as an opportunity for religious duties, where they are met by the word of God, believe, and are saved. As a witness for God, a memorial of bliss, and a promise of enduring rest provided by our loving heavenly Father, the day itself possesses power for good.

VIII. FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL.

It is estimated that with our agricultural, mining and manufacturing resources at all adequately developed we can sustain and enrich a population of 1,000,000,000. Our present wealth as a nation is estimated at over $50,000,000,000, constituting us, while the youngest, the richest nation on the globe. At least $10,000,000,000 of this wealth is in the hands of members of evangelical churches.

Emerson says · "We live in a new and exceptional age. America is another name for opportunity. Our whole history appears like a last effort of the Divine Providence in behalf of the human race."

Providence has placed the material as well as the spiritual resources within our grasp, and has promised to back us with omnipotence. It is for us to say what shall be the issue of the experiment.

Dr. Strong says : "For Christians to apprehend their true relation to money, and the relations of money to the kingdom of Christ and its progress in the world, is to find the key to many of the great problems now pressing for solution. Money is power in the concrete. It commands learning, skill, experience, wisdom, talent, influence, numbers. It represents the school, the college, the church, the printing-press, and all evangelizing machinery. It confers on the wise man a sort of omnipresence."

Dr. Bushnell says : "Talent has been Christianized already on a large scale. The political power of states and kingdoms has been long assumed to be. Architecture, arts, constitutions, schools and learning have been largely Christianized. But the money power, which is one of the most operative and grandest of all, is only beginning to be ; though with promising tokens of a finally complete reduction to Christ and the uses of his kingdom. That day, when it comes, is the morning, so to speak, of the new creation."

No man has been authorized by the Master to dictate to man the measure of his capacity to give money. The basis of Christ's judgment of man's stewardship is not what a man gives, but what he withholds. An enlightened mind, a cultured conscience, and a sanctified heart can only determine the extent of the Christianized moneyed resources of our country.

The consciousness of stewardship in the use of money was never either relatively or actually so general as now, implying a rising tide that hastens on to flood ; proving the potency of Christian love in human hearts to conquer selfishness and to create a spirit of sacrifice.

IX. NUMERICAL EVANGELICAL STRENGTH.

The evangelical churches number 112,744, with 83,854 ministers and 12,132,651 communicants. Multiply this number of communicants by 3½, the lowest multiple used by discreet statisticians, to get the number of adherents of evangelical Christianity in our country, and we have 42,464,278. These churches have accom-

modations for 25,000,000 people, with a property valuation of $600,000,000.

X. ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

This is an Evangelical Alliance, but in estimating the Christian resources of our country we cannot in justice ignore the Latin or Roman church. It has vitality in so far only as it is Christian, and this is equally true of Protestantism. Its wholesome restraints upon ignorant multitudes, its benevolences, its ministrations to the sick, afflicted and poor, and its care for neglected childhood, are all commendable. It has, already, in multitudes of its membership and adherents, yielded to the molding influences of the public schools, and to the transforming power of republican institutions.

It is far better for its adherents to be under its influence than to be unchurched and unbelieving. Say what we may concerning its defects, deplore its corruptions and traditions of men and its political power, yet multitudes of those who bow at its altars are there because they are feeling after the Christ; and can we doubt that he emerges from the mummeries, and putting aside the intervening priest, touches the bruised souls and feeds the hungry hearts?

The Roman Catholic church has in our country 154 hospitals, with 30,000 inmates; 320 asylums, with 40,000 inmates; it cares for 20,000 orphans; it has 124 Jesuit and other colleges and institutions of high grade, with 19,000 students; it has 577,000 students of all classes under its instruction, and its church buildings and other edifices number about 4,000, with a church-seating capacity of 3,000,000.

It claims as members and adherents, 7,000,000 of our population, and it has property valued at $70,000,000.

XI. MISSIONS.

The demands for Christian work of our extended domain, and the composite character of our population, have so broadened our scope that our people are more and more realizing their obligations to send the gospel to all the foreign nations that contribute to our population. And every dollar and Bible and missionary we send abroad, in accordance with the divine law, increases the wealth of the remaining resources. The invoice of our Christian resources in organized form can only be approximately tabulated. Local, national and denominational societies for home, city and foreign missions, for the publishing and distributing of tracts and

Bibles, for promoting Sunday-schools, for advancing temperance and education, for providing outlets for all conceivable forms of benevolence, utilizing a mighty host of workers—of these the only accurate record is kept on high.

The foreign missionary societies of the evangelical churches have in the field 2,500 missionaries; the laborers of all classes number over 13,000; the communicants, 332,000; mission scholars in their schools, 152,000; and they now contribute about $3,000,000 annually for their support.

About $4,000,000 annually are contributed for home missions. This is an inadequate representation, because it does not include the uninvoiced amounts given by local home missionary organizations, and individual church efforts in the cities and centers of population.

The steady movement upward in benevolence places momentum in the invoice of our resources. In 1850 the receipts for home and foreign missions were $1,232,000. In 1886, $7,000,000; an increase calling for gratitude, but not for special congratulation, and certainly not for boasting, when we consider the undoubted fact that about $10,000,000,000 of the wealth of the country is in the hands of members of evangelical churches. It must in justice, however, be remembered that a multitude of these church members are the subjects of missionary benefactions, and the limited number who do give, are also contributors to all other benevolent and philanthropic causes.

XII. THE UTILIZED ENERGIES OF WOMANHOOD.

The broadest opportunities for the exercise of the gifts and graces of Christian womanhood constitute one of our mightiest modern resources of strength. The mourners and comforters of the race, as women have always been, make up two-thirds of the membership of the Christian church. They were the last faithful friends of the Nazarene at Calvary and the first preachers of his resurrection. In leading souls to Christ, in self-sacrificing ministrations to the diseased, the poor and the sorrow-stricken, in mission fields, in molding the character of youth, in temperance, and in all reforms based on the well-being of man, and in mitigating the horrors of war, genuine Christian womanhood is exalting, the gospel ideal of stewardship, and that without unsexing herself, or trenching upon the well-defined scriptural prerogatives of man.

Aside from the multiform works of Christian women in home directions, women's foreign missionary boards are now supporting about 1,000 missionaries and teaching about 20,000 pupils, and ministering to a great multitude of sick and distressed in heathen lands.

XIII. RACE.

Christianized Anglo-Saxon blood, with its love of liberty, its thrift, its intense and persistent energy and personal independence, is the regnant force in this country; and that is a most pregnant fact, because the concededly most important lesson in the history of modern civilization is, that God is using the Anglo-Saxon to conquer the world for Christ by dispossessing feebler races, and assimilating and molding others.

Dr. N. G. Clark says: "The English language, saturated with Christian ideas, gathering up into itself the best thought of all the ages, is the great agent of Christian civilization throughout the world, at this moment affecting the destinies and molding the character of half the human race."

In our country, the ends of the earth, with all forms of civilization, come to us, and this Anglo-Saxon blood, baptized by the Spirit of God, can impart its own virtue to the amalgam, producing "a more powerful type of man than has hitherto existed, a civilization grander than any the world has known," and that, not as the result of conquest by wars, but conquest by assimilation.

XIV. THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

Evangelical Christianity must gladly accept and utilize the irrepressible publicity of the nineteenth century, never reviling nor restricting the liberty of the press, except when it commits offenses against natural rights. It is one of our principal sources of power. The right solution of social and political questions closely connected with Christianity necessitates that every voice should be heard save that of open and criminal revolt. Repression would retard solutions.

De Pressensé says: "Perfect liberty of thought is of the first necessity, not only for what is good and true, but for that which is false and bad." Jeremiah records for God: "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream: and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord."

Error refutes itself in the act of showing itself. A hidden evil is the only incurable one.

Milton said: "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose upon the earth, so truth be among them we need not fear. Let her and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew her to be put to the worst in a free and open encounter?"

The religious press, and very much of the work of the secular press, in furnishing religious intelligence and in the discussion of public questions from the Christian standpoint, as many, if not most of them, do, as educators of the public conscience, are among the most powerful agencies for Christian civilization.

There are published in the United States nearly 15,000 newspapers and periodicals, about 9,000 being published weekly. The entire circulation would probably reach 25,000,000 copies, while the entire number of copies would exceed in a single year 2,000,000,000.

Of religious newspapers and periodicals there are about 700, circulating more than 120,000,000 copies annually. The relative increase in the circulation of the religious press is in advance of the secular press. The receipts of the religious publication houses of the evangelical churches have reached an annual average of $5,000,000.

XV. LATENT POWERS.

Among our resources we must count the latent power in individual Christian lives, which is mightier than the developed and revealed. This is also true of the latent power in numbers and in capacity for work in our churches, and in the latent financial resources of our membership. Let the nominally Christian people of this country go to praying, and then go to living and acting in accordance with their prayers, provided only they close their praying with the Lord's Prayer, and this nominally Christian nation would speedily become actually Christian, and instead of assembling to determine how best to defeat the devil, we should soon assemble to welcome the descending Lord back to a world that crucified him, but now made ready to crown him. Pentecostal blessing would liberate all these latent energies. When shall these dry bones live and move?

XVI. THE DIVINE PROMISES.

The Christian resources of our country are made up of the invoice of all of Christ's possessions in this goodly land, and of all

of Christ's promises. "The kingdoms of this world" are his. "All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth." But the question is, How much does man, the steward, concede to Christ, the master and proprietor? We must not forget that we are to act as though we believed the fact that all our resources are essentially Christian. They belong to God, whether we admit it or not.

"This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." "All things are possible to him that believeth." "If God be for us, who can be against us?" "How shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" Inspiration perfectly answers its own question.

"For all things are yours; whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas, or the world, or life or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's." No wonder the apostle cries out in holy triumph in the face of foes, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me."

His abiding presence inspires us; the memory of his past dealings impels us; the promise of his coming draws us. We are encompassed about with omnipotence. Let individual Christians stand shoulder to shoulder, not inquiring of one another whence we came, and how we are called, but rather, what we desire and whither we are tending. Our symbol a cross, standing luminous by the side of an empty grave. *In hoc signo vinces.*

"Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." When these truths become the common experience of individual Christians, the millennial light will burst over the mountains.

XVII. THE POWER OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

"When Jesus ascended up on high and led captivity captive," he "gave gifts unto men." "When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, he shall testify of me, and ye also shall bear witness." "Ye also." The Holy Spirit is not our accompaniment; we are his.

The office-work of the Holy Spirit is now more intelligently and more extensively recognized in religious effort, as the sole dependence of the church for effective work, than has been the case in centuries. This has given tone and character and potency to religious experience, and heroism and endurance to religious zeal. It has inspired the thought and experience of the priesthood of believers with its

personal dignity and personal responsibility, taught by evangelical Protestanism, and has expanded it into spiritual and practical results, with the highest type of piety and personal godliness yet attained by relatively large numbers in any age. It has inspired this Conference, with the universal approval of good men of all varieties of evangelical thought, of the new plans and purposes for utilizing dormant Christian energies, and Christianizing the thoughtless and neglected, and for massing the forces of righteousness.

Resources of history, character, money, machinery, education, numbers, the press, a chosen race, and the divine promises, are all necessary instruments, but they are strengthless and useless for good, either singly or in combination, until baptized by the Holy Spirit; then, singly, they take on strength, and, massed, they become as omnipotent as God. These human appliances, wielded by the Holy Spirit sent by Christ, shall become like him, sweet in sympathy, pure in holiness, vital with love. If from this time forth in this capital city, where is located the fountain of our country's law and the throne of our nation's power; if in this favored land, the saved sons of men would put on the whole armor of God; if all the daughters of Zion would clothe themselves with the beautiful garments of salvation, and, baptized by the Holy Spirit, would move together for the renovation of a heritage once uncursed with sin—no pen or pencil could picture the result. Godless temples would tumble; incense burning to unknown gods would be quenched; air polluted with blasphemy would be purified; ignorance would flee away; the flood-gates of intemperance would be closed; the fires of passion would be quenched; and fountains of bitter tears would be dried up. Every hill-top would glimmer with the light of truth, and every valley show the temple of our God.

"In the wilderness would waters break out, and streams in the desert, and the ransomed of the Lord would come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their head, and sorrow and sighing would flee away."

"Come, Holy Ghost, our hearts inspire;
Let us thine influence prove;
Source of the old prophetic fire,
Fountain of life and love."

In our centennial year the French people proposed to place, and have since placed at the gateway of our commerce, upon an island in New York Harbor, a bronze statue of liberty, more than

a hundred feet in height, standing upon a pedestal of the same elevation. This majestic statue towers by day against the sky, while by night streams of light radiate from the head. It is the first object seen by those who come down to the sea in ships as they approach our coasts from every clime, telling them the story of our free institutions. Let us pray that Jesus, the great liberator of our race, may so get the mastery in this nation that the immigrant coming to our shores, and entering the gateway of our liberties, shall find his eyes looking first upon works of righteousness; and that the first sound that greets his ears shall be a voice crying, "Behold the lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." Then shall we not only rejoice in the centennial of our national liberties, but in the millennium of gospel liberty.

THE CHRISTIAN RESOURCES OF OUR COUNTRY.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT D. C. GILMAN, LL. D., OF BALTIMORE.

The speaker to whom we have just listened with the greatest interest, has gone over so wide a field, and yet has shown so much power of compressing what he has to say, that those of us who follow can only take up some of the subordinate themes which he has introduced, and expand them. I invite your attention to the intellectual resources of this country, and especially their relation to the advancement of religion. But I find even this theme far too suggestive. I should be glad to spend all the time allotted me in a discussion of popular education, as secured by the American system of common schools; but instead, I can only say, Long may they live. May their imperfections be removed, their deficiencies supplied, and may they never fail to receive the confidence and support of Christian people. It would be an agreeable task to devote my half hour to the American system of college education, and to show how, under the influence of Christian churches, the higher general instruction of the country has hitherto been supported; but instead, I can simply express the hope that these institutions may continue to be successful in training up youth for the service of church and state.

I choose a different phase of the subject, and remind you that we have entered upon a new epoch—the age of universities as distinguished from colleges, and that their influence upon the advancement of Christian faith has not yet been measured among us. If there are any persons present unfamiliar with the terms employed in college circles, let me remind them that calling an institution a university does not make it one. Now, as formerly, there are nominalists and realists. You may have the name without the substance; you may have the reality without the charter or the style. For

example, the Smithsonian Institution and all the allied organizations for scientific activity in Washington, exercise two at least of the most important functions of a university—"the advancement and diffusion of knowledge among men." They constitute a university. Elsewhere, likewise, are men at work in faithful, laborious researches without the aid of university resources, but in the full possession of the university spirit. If it is necessary before this audience to distinguish between colleges and universities, let me say that colleges are to teach what is known, to discipline youth in habits of intellectual vigor, to develop character; while universities are partly for providing professional education and partly for promoting inquiry, investigation and discovery in all departments of human thought. The best collegiate professors are gifted teachers; the best university professors are gifted thinkers. Perhaps the highest duty of a university is the ascertainment of truth. They save from the inheritance of the past the gold which is buried; they dig from hidden veins the precious ore which has never been brought to light; and the old gold and the new, refined and stamped, are blended in the currency of mankind. During the last twenty or thirty years great progress has been made in this country, in the actual development of these ideas, and we are living in the foundation days of universities—some of them built upon sand, and some of them on rocks.

It is quite worth while, in a conference like this, to consider whether these establishments growing up in every part of the land are to be helps or hindrances to religious faith. Many persons are filled with apprehensions, particularly as they see certain doctrines in which they have trusted, proved erroneous, and statements which they have thought to be facts, abandoned as derelicts. Under these circumstances a survey of a broad field is called for—a survey which will clearly show that in the long run universities uphold ideality, spirituality and faith.

I can do little more than indicate in this brief address, the line of arguments which may be followed when universities are assailed as the foes of Christianity.

Universities are in fact the children of the church. The great historic foundations, from the time of Bologna—about to celebrate its eight hundredth anniversary—attest the fostering care of the church before the days of the Protestant Reformation; and from this later date until now, the various religious bodies of the world

have sought to strengthen their influence by means of kindred organizations. Protestants and Catholics have vied with one another in the maintenance of these schools of superior study.

Recall the biographies of intellectual and religious leaders. Wycliffe, the morning star of the Reformation, was master of Balliol College in the University of Oxford. Luther was a professor of Philosophy in the University of Wittenberg, when he nailed his famous propositions upon the door of the castle church. Francis Xavier was sent to the University of Paris at the age of eighteen. "The university at that time," we are told by a good authority (H. I. Coleridge), "was neither perfect in discipline nor immaculate in morals, or even in orthodoxy. Young men were exposed to as great temptations as are now incurred by the students of any continental university." "From dangers like these, he was saved by means of the greatest of all blessings which he received at Paris, the friendship of Ignatius Loyola." The influence of Calvin as an interpreter of the Scriptures, has been attributed largely to the fact that while studying in the Catholic college at Bourges, he was taught by a German, the Greek language, and introduced to the study of the New Testament in the original, so that (as he himself tells us) "all who were desirous of a purer doctrine were in the habit of coming to him, though a novice or tyro, for the purpose of learning." It was at the University of Oxford that John and Charles Wesley were first called Methodists, because they were so methodical in their religious lives and so strict in the performance of their religious duties. The great Cardinal Newman, universally acknowledged by the Protestant and the Catholic alike, to be "one of the most remarkable men whom the English church has produced in any century," shows in every stage of his life the effects of his Oxford education. Frederick Denison Maurice, one of the most influential of our contemporaries, spent all his days in the university atmosphere, the medical school, the college of law, Kings College in London, and at length the University of Cambridge. Who in our day has done more than he to uphold the ideas of spiritual religion? Arthur Hallam wrote to Gladstone, very many years ago, "The effect which Maurice produced on the minds of many at Cambridge by the single creation of the Society of the Apostles, is far greater than I can dare to calculate, and will be felt directly and indirectly in the age that is upon us."

In reviewing Maurice's "Christian Socialism," the Rev. Llewellyn Davies says: "What was paradoxical in Maurice's teaching—and it must be admitted that there is much in it that had this air—is due chiefly to his seeing God in all things, and all things in God. I cannot think there has been anyone since the first age of Christendom, however full of faith, in whom this kind of sight has been quite so habitual as it was in Maurice."

If, instead of looking at individual lives, we consider the origin of religious movements, we shall again perceive the influence of universities. In all great crises of thought their counsel is sought. In the Reformation they led men back to the study of the original texts of the Scriptures. They restored to due consideration the Greek and Hebrew languages. They gave us the authorized version of the English Bible; to their professors we are largely indebted for the recent revision. Of the translators of the authorized version, it is said that nine were sooner or later Professors of Greek and Hebrew in Oxford and Cambridge, and nine were heads of colleges. A still larger proportion of the recent revisers were professors of Greek and Hebrew. Universities have unraveled for us the hieroglyphics of Egypt and the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. Their scholarship has turned the discoveries of archæology to the explanation and support of the sacred texts. The Oxford movement of the last generation, however we may regard it, was the manifestation of religious faith and fervor in a society of scholars. Even to-day, some of the noblest examples of devotion to the religious welfare of mankind are found among the scholars of the English universities; some of whom devote their lives to labors beyond the seas, and others with equal self-renunciation engage in philanthropic labors among the outcast and the needy in the cities at home. Lord Acton, in the opening article of the new *Historical Review*,* makes this significant remark: "The academic socialists are proceeding to reconstruct history, making property and the social condition the determining factor, above the acts of government or the changes of opinion; and this is by many degrees *the most important addition made of late years to historic science*." There is no nobler indication, none more hopeful, than the eagerness with which young men are studying these social questions, and the readiness with which they are throwing themselves into every effort for the good of their fellow-men.

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These are but illustrations—a few chosen almost at random from a multitude that might be given—of the influence of universities. Why should we not be assured that universities will always promote the highest nature of men? They are devoted to the study of the nature and history of man, and to the nature and history of the microcosm in which he is placed; and their discoveries perpetually lead up to the recognition of moral laws governing human society, and to the evidence of an infinite power holding the atoms in their place. So too the methods they employ are particularly directed to the ascertainment of truth and the detection of error; and these methods are those which all men everywhere can make use of. Moreover, the end in view—the ultimate end of all educational and scientific effort, as well as of all legislation and statesmanship—is identical with that at which Christianity aims, that which was heralded in Judea nineteen centuries ago, by a multitude of the heavenly host, saying, "Peace on earth, good-will to men."

Great results have followed in this direction from the activity of universities. I might rehearse its material results—such, for example, as the series of discoveries which have given to this part of the nineteenth century the name of the age of electricity—discoveries which have entirely changed our commerce, our diplomacy and our missionary efforts. I should prefer to dwell upon the establishment of the principles of international law by the agency of Christian scholars, from the days of Grotius until now. When, a few weeks ago, the deputation of members of Parliament visited Washington to urge the necessity of arbitration in disputes between states, a company of university professors with other scholars were assembled in Heidelberg for the study of questions in international law tending to the preservation of peace. In another subject, progress has been made within recent years full of actual and expected benefit to mankind. I refer to the group of studies known as biological, which have thrown a flood of light upon the physiological nature of man. Advancing in their train, comes pathology, the clearer recognition of the origin and development of disease, and consequently the discovery of remedies for many of the ills which beset humanity. Psychology, interpreter of the subtle relations which exist between the spiritual nature of man and the corporal tenement in which it resides, is at work in the house of Physiology. It is exposing the errors, the blunders and the deceits of the insidious impostor and ignoramus, that poses under the name of

spiritualism; it is revealing the laws of the brain and nervous system, our thinking-apparatus; and is establishing, as it seems to me, the insufficiency of all materialistic theories respecting the nature of the intellect and soul. From these studies, which a few years ago were looked on with so much distrust, we have already learned so much that is fraught with good, that alarm is silenced, and expectation is alert. Natural theology is now drawing its arguments from biology, and one of the ablest defenders of the faith, now living in England (Dr. Fairbairn), has clearly declared his opinion that "Rightly understood, evolution mightily strengthens the argument for the being and continued activity of God. It gives," he says, "not simply a new and truer doctrine of the Creator, but a sublimer and diviner doctrine of Providence."

In view of all these things, no one ought to be afraid of the advancement of knowledge; no one ought to be afraid of institutions engaged in the pursuit of knowledge. Every one who believes that the world is organized upon a plan, should also believe that it is the duty of intellectual men to discover and reveal as much as they can of this plan. Every one should recognize in universities, resources consecrated to the establishment of truth, and should hold them precious.

But, you will ask me, Does not error creep into university work? Are not many things taught that are not truths, inaccurate assertions, unverified hypotheses, unwarranted opinions? I cannot deny that this is so, but I will ask you how these errors are to be got rid of? Is anything human perfect? Are the workings of our own minds perfect? Is human society perfect? Is the Christian church perfect? Do not errors creep into the most sacred deliberations? How are we to eliminate these errors? Only by the prosecution of the search of truth, only by training scholars in the detection of error. If there is an error in mathematics, it must be the trained mathematician who will detect it. If there is an error in biology, it is the trained biologist who will reveal it. If there is an error in chemistry or physics, it is the skilled chemist or physicist who will eradicate it. If we would get rid of error in the instructions of universities, and in the opinions of society at large, we can succeed only by prosecuting the search after truth, by men of the highest education, who will record what they find out; who will give to the world processes and results that every one else may test, criticise or combat, until the truth itself is estab-

lished. In all the difficulties that beset us, and they are many; in all the dangers to which youth are exposed, and they are many; in all the perplexities that communities and churches feel, and they are many—let us never fail to believe in the progress of truth, the attainment of knowledge, the advancement of science. In times when error is heard, when unworthy leaders are at the front, let us be assured that in the long run, in the progress of centuries, even in the progress of decade after decade, the world grows better. As misery, vice and sin grow less, religion has a freer field, and Christianity extends its invigorating and uplifting influence.

As I look at the progress of our times, hear the discussion of many theories, watch the rapid march of research, and come into contact with minds of various orders, I am more and more impressed by the fact that in the advancement of all things valuable, silent, quiet, unseen forces are steadily at work. In every military campaign there must be soldiers at the front, and soldiers in the rear; those who face the enemy, and those who make the plans. So in the advancement of good ideas, there must be those who encounter face to face their opponents, and there must be unseen forces working steadily to provide the principles that others will apply. I often ask what branch of the Christian church will be first to place on its flag and assert everywhere that Science is the handmaid of Religion, that every effort made to extend the domain of human thought, and to interpret the plan of the creation, is an effort to extend the reign of righteousness and truth. When the churches thus more fully recognize the value of advancing knowledge, and when universities more heartily recognize the truth of Christian doctrine, as well as the beauty of Christian life, then shall we say with the Psalmist, "Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity with itself." "Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces." Then will men acknowledge, if they do not now, that the beauty of poetry, the truth of science, the exactness of philosophy, and the faith which as Christians we hold most dear, are so many agencies by which the race is helped, or so many instrumentalities by which individuals are fitted for the world that is to come.

With the motto which the Secretary of this Conference introduced upon the title-page of his instructive and impressive volume entitled "Our Country," I will conclude these remarks: "We live in a new and exceptional age; America is another name for oppor-

tunity. Our whole history appears like a last effort of the Divine Providence in behalf of the human race."

But I will add to this motto these words of Isaac Taylor: "It is the first characteristic of spiritual Christianity, that it attaches a sovereign importance to TRUTH, as furnishing the only solid support for the motives of self-government, purity and charity."

THE CHRISTIAN RESOURCES OF OUR COUNTRY.

ADDRESS BY REV. W. E. HATCHER, D. D., OF RICHMOND.

The call for this Conference was startling. It rang like a fire-bell in the night, and there is something positively pathetic in the intense and devout response with which it has been met. But why are we here? Not to indulge in unthinking and self-complacent optimism, nor yet to express a doubt as to the conflict. We are not here to determine whether with ten thousand we are able to meet him that cometh with twenty thousand. He has already come, and the battle between the Prince of Light and the legions of darkness is raging. This is a council of Christ's warriors around the camp-fire, to study the movements of the enemy, estimate our own strength, and whet our swords for that war which can never end until the crown of our republic has been put upon the brow of the Captain of our salvation.

The summons which called me to take part in these discussions sounded like a paraphrase of the olden cry :

> "Watchman, tell us of the night,
> What its signs of promise are."

Standing here a southern stranger, I beg modestly to make my answer from the Christian watch-tower of the South. This I do in no narrow spirit, and with no wish to bring the South into any unpleasant contrast with any other portion of our country. I adopt this course, only because of my better acquaintanceship with the South, and because too it is always easier to grasp a great subject by examining it in its several sections. We are now studying the Christian resources of our country, by which I understand all the means, actual and possible, within our reach for confronting the evils now rampant in our midst, and for bringing the millions of our population beneath the peaceful reign of Him whose right it is to rule.

It may help our investigations to look at a few figures. In the southern states, in which are included Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, as well as those states south of them, we have a population of nearly 19,000,000, of which 12,000,000 are whites, and 7,000,000 are negroes. As to the religious status of this part of our population, I present these figures:

	Ministers.	Church Members.	S. S. Teachers.	S. S. Scholars.
Presbyterians, all branches	2,300	350,000	26,800	224,000
Episcopalians	875	75,500	5,700	80,000
Methodists, white and colored	5,930	1,440,000	95,000	965,000
Baptists, white and colored	13,100	2,350,000	143,200	1,670,000
Other evangelical denominations	3,150	570,500	49,000	480,200
	25,385	4,786,000	319,700	3,019,200

Take these figures for what they are worth. They are not absolutely, but approximately correct. As a fact, they fall below rather than exceed the truth, for there is much unreported Christian work among southern people. This exhibit indicates an actual Christian force of nearly 5,000,000 church members, 25,000 ministers, 319,700 Sunday-school teachers, and 3,000,000 of Sunday-school scholars. As to this vast array of church members, I can not become responsible for the safe delivery of every one of them at the gates of the New Jerusalem. But it may be justly said that, in point of devoutness and right living, they will compare fairly with professed Christians in other portions of the world. This statement reminds us that a vast proportion of our people are unsaved, and yet it affords us ample ground for profound gratitude and hope. It ought to be added that never before were the Christian people of the South so well organized, so aggressive, or so hopeful as they now are. Year by year we are having rich acquisitions to our ranks, and the outlook for yet greater conquests is most inspiring.

It is not easy to make an inventory of our Christian stock. Even the more material elements of spiritual power are not easy to define ; but there are facts in the religious situation of the South which are suggestive of present strength and future progress.

1. *First of all, we have a strong and far-reaching Christian sentiment in the South.* It is historic, hereditary and deep-rooted. It pervades almost every grade and rank of our social system. Our

people believe in the Bible, and stand by the old gospel. As a rule the Sabbath is respected, though the railroads and the saloons are seriously invading its sanctity: the Christian minister is almost universally honored, and the bulk of our population attend public worship. We have very few divorces in the South ; this not so much on account of good legislation, as through the influence of a dominant religious sentiment ; and if I may speak for Virginia, the most of our divorces result from the marriage of minors, who escape from the restraints of their parents, elude the Virginia laws, cross the Potomac, enter our national capital and are married under the shield of the United States government. It may be needful to remind you that we have in the South, a singularly homogeneous population. Except in the newer states beyond the Mississippi, and a thinly scattered foreign element everywhere, we have really but two great classes of population—Anglo-Saxons and the negroes. As for the whites, they are the original stock—descendants of the old English settlers, and long identified with the history of the country. They are of those who in the past fought the battle of religious liberty, and have been enjoying it ever since. They have been brought up in the faith of their fathers, and show no serious symptoms of revolt from it. If strangers have come among us, they have been for the most part assimilated and absorbed into our social and religious systems.

What I have said of the white people, can be said with almost equal justice of the negroes. They are a Christianized race. I speak not as a sentimentalist or enthusiast, and do not mean to hold up this race as the highest type of spiritual life. They retain some marks of their servility, and some older traces of their superstition, and are behind in the moral aspects of their religious lives. But admitting this, it is pleasant to testify that they are a religious, in a good degree an evangelically religious, people.

They believe in God, and in Jesus Christ his Son ; in the Bible, in the fullness and finality of its authority ; in repentance and regeneration ; in Christian organization, and rigid standards of church discipline, and are extraordinary church builders. Slavery had its evils—grievous and many. What these were no one could possibly know so well as the more thoughtful and conscientious people of the South ; and if I know the southern people, as I believe that I do, I can assure you that there are none who rejoice more cordially over the abolition of slavery than they do. For

that marvelous work which Christian philanthropy has done for the uplifting of the emancipated race, the whole earth ought to be grateful. At the same time, there is one fact which ought never to be forgotten, and that is that the Christianization of the negro came before his personal and political freedom. He was converted under the ministry of his master. He grew up in a Christian home, sat in the same house and under the same ministry with the whites, was a member of the same church, sang the same Christian melodies, and rejoiced in the same good hope of eternal life through Jesus Christ.

That there have been and still are sharp differences and antagonisms between the two races, is not wonderful. These will probably continue until the saloon-keeper and the demagogue shall have become food for worms, and Christian statesmen become leaders of the people. But despite these divergencies and hostilities, which are far greater in the report than in the fact, it is much to say that the two races are bound together in the strong bonds of a common religious faith. They are one in Christ Jesus. This gives us an immense vantage-ground. A common Christian sentiment pervades our duplex social organism, and binds labor and capital into a real unity. We may squabble about politics and have occasional tilts over the social problems, but both races believe in Christ, and, all things considered, are living together in remarkable harmony and peace.

This widely prevalent religious sentiment, this settled presumption in favor of the gospel, is one of our towers of strength. An avowed infidel is a rare spectacle with us, and a noisy, blatant atheist upon a southern platform championing his hatred of the Bible, would startle our people about as much as a roaring anarchist brandishing his dynamite bombs in the public street. Not that all are Christians. Alas ! far from it. There be many who refuse to obey Christ and wantonly sell themselves to Satan, but they do not do so on the ground that they disbelieve in the divine authority of the Bible. Nor is there any disposition to foster or pet those modern forms of infidelity which flourish under Christian names. Recently in two of our leading Christian denominations, men of imperial genius and magnificent learning, have undertaken to recast, or to cast out our fundamental theological doctrines, but only with the result that they were sternly invited to walk out and away with their sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

In this sober and conservative religious conviction we have a precious inheritance. It is a citadel of strength, protective, purifying and transforming.

2. *In the second place, we have in the South, in its unimpaired strength and sanctity, the Christian home.* The lordly palaces of the old South are gone. Their turrets have crumbled; their gates are shattered; their inclosures are down; their oaks and cedars are dead; and the voice of luxurious revelry is hushed within their walls. The southern home of to-day is a plainer affair. It is a modest house with unshowy furniture, and without its liveried servants or gleaming equipages. Not that we have not yet wealth, comfort and beauty in many of our southern homes: but the old aristocratic mansions which formerly crowned the hills of the South have departed, and in their stead have sprung up new homes—homes that are the fruit of honest toil—homes for the common people, and even homes for the negroes, for thousands of them are becoming freeholders. It is a matter of congratulation that our homes are so many, so well ordered and so permanent; and most of all are we thankful that so many of them are Christian homes. In point of magnificence and luxury they are behind, but they have at least their Bibles, their altars, their devout fathers and mothers, their Christian songs, and their happy social evenings.

It is beneath the roofs of these Bethany homes that our Saviour comes to bless us in our humble struggle to train our children for him. It is from out their gates that we are sending our sons and daughters, with the love of God in their hearts, and with the name of Christ on their lips. That some of them are wrecked on the stormy seas of life, is sadly true, but even they at last turn their dying eyes to the God of their fathers and mothers. Our young people are for the most part church members, and not only stand in the liberty of Christ, but are going forth in their trained strength to be the friends of truth and righteousness. It is in the purity and devoutness of our homes that we feel that much of our strength lies. It is from that source emanate the influences which purify society, refine our civilization, and add stability to our government.

3. *We are fortunate also in having our institutions of learning under the most positive Christian influence.*

To this statement there may be some exceptions, which are the creatures and beneficiaries of the state. But even these cannot escape from that pervasive Christian sentiment already mentioned;

and, besides, they have in them Christian teachers, and always a body of godly, faithful students, well organized for the Master's work.

Our colleges are denominational. They are the outgrowth of Christian enterprise and liberality; they are in the hands of public-spirited and God-fearing trustees; they are manned by devout and exemplary teachers; they are filled with youths, three-fourths of whom are Christians, and their courses of study are dictated by a distinct Christian sentiment. You know that our colleges have known great adversities. Many of them lost their buildings, endowments and equipments, and they have been compelled to do their work under the gravest disabilities. Our academic and collegiate teachers have been ill-paid and sorely strained; but, animated by their unfailing faith in Christian education, they have toiled nobly on. Parents have made vast sacrifices to educate their sons and daughters, and these young people have willingly submitted to scanty rations and threadbare outfits, that they might equip themselves for usefulness. These hardships have had their compensations. We have reared a sturdy and stalwart race. There has been no need that we should legislate religion into our colleges, for the bulk of our young men were godly, and too hard at work, and too eager to learn, to be unmanageable. Happily we have had enough religion in our colleges to take care of itself.

In the matter of popular and technical education we are far behind. But we are doing much for the broad academic education of our sons and daughters. As already said, the major part of our college-trained youths are Christians, and we look to them to become mighty auxiliaries in the preservation of our government and in the Christianization of our people. This seems to be the time for putting on exhibition our jewels. The South has few millionaires, few diamonds and few rich corporations. But she can modestly point to her thousands of educated girls and boys, and say with maternal pride, "*These are my jewels.*"

4. *Let me pause for a moment to emphasize another cheering fact in the religious situation of the South.* The president of one of our leading theological seminaries has recently uttered the opinion that there was never before such a wide-spread desire on the part of our young men to enter the Christian ministry as is now manifested. This is true beyond question. But not so true in our larger cities, where the base commercial spirit so completely posses-

ses the popular mind, that it even whips the boys out of their primary schools and sends them forth as money-makers. But in the South the larger proportion of the population is in the country. They are rustic, and are not so easy mannered as the dwellers in the cities, but they read and think and pray more, and many of our most richly endowed youths are coming into the gospel ministry. Our academies, colleges and seminaries are filled with these ministerial candidates, and in some cases the number is no greater simply because of the limited means for aiding them in their education. We are far richer in men than in money; but let the Lord be praised that our money is increasing, and much of it is coming into the hands of Christian men who are learning to use it for Christian purposes.

After all, the most vital and magnetic resource for converting the world is the living preacher. He is the divinely selected organ for communicating the heavenly message, and for riveting it upon the human soul. In the ministers which the South is sending forth, we feel that we are making our best contributions for the salvation of our country.

5. *Finally, let me say that there is a growing spirit of evangelical unity among the several Christian denominations of the South.* I am not here to preach the funeral of denominationalism, nor to foreshadow any speedy amalgamation of the religious sects of the South. That is a great problem—so complicated, delicate and difficult, that we are not meddling with it and do not wish to be meddled with on that subject. But several things can be said with all confidence. First, we have, in a large measure recovered from that irritating and vituperative spirit of controversy which formerly marred our peace and divided our forces. We have learned that charity is intended not so much for those who agree with us, as for those who are separated from us by sincere and cherished convictions. Next, we have discovered that there is no inconsistency between clinging loyally to our own convictions and at the same time cordially co-operating with our Christian brethren in common work for the Master. Quietly and gradually we are clearing the brush and briers from the common ground, so that we can come more closely together. Already we are looking into each other's faces, touching elbows in kindred work, and learning to keep step to the music of each other's bands.

Why there are so many divisions in the army of Christ, is a

question which, though answered a thousand times, remains unanswered still. I suppose that every man in this great assemblage, with one single exception, feels fully prepared to explain the mystery, and I would gladly pause and hear these explanations. The exception is myself. If my salvation depended upon it, I could not tell why so many lines have been drawn across the external kingdom of our Lord. But one thing is significant. When these divergent sects join forces in battling for the salvation of men, the world always wakes up. There is a peculiar spiritual power in co-operative Christian work, and that power we are beginning to recognize in the South as one of our resources.

And now you have it. In actual material we have largely over 4,500,000 church members, and 3,500,000 persons in our Bible schools. To this add a rich Christian sentiment; thousands upon thousands of godly homes; well-devised educational movements under gospel influences; many young men entering the ministry; and a spirit of fraternity and helpfulness among Christians of every worthy name.

And this is our stock-in-trade. It seems not much—indeed, very little when put in contrast with the thickening perils and crying wants of our country. Even if we add it to the yet richer streams of Christian influence, which have their rise in other portions of our republic, we still feel that we are as Gideon with his three hundred on the hill-top, while the valley of Jezreel was crowded with the Midianites. What can we do? Can we meet him that comes with the majesty of his numbers and the fury of his assault?

Strange picture that, on the northern shores of the Galilean lake. Even the patient Jesus is worn out, and for once has cut the crowd and taken to the desert. Too happy indeed are the disciples to follow him into his hiding-place and have him to themselves. Is it to themselves? Here they come—thousands upon thousands—swarming, unbidden, unwelcomed and intruding. The little church views them with disfavor, and makes no prayer for them, except that they be sent away. Feed them! There are no resources—nothing but five loaves and two small fishes. But hark! Hear the compassionate Saviour speak: "Make the men sit down upon the ground." And then above the meager supplies he lifts his eyes, asks the blessing, the multitude is fed, and the resources are multiplied for future uses.

Behold another shore! Thronged with millions—millions of new-

comers—rough, ravenous and hostile. They threaten the peace of our Zion; they imperil our liberties and privileges; they crowd and jostle us out of our rights. What shall we do? Bind them with legislative restraints? Load them with political proscription? Refill the ships and send them away? Put up the bars and keep them back? Ah, I think I hear that same voice, "Bring them to me, make them sit down, and give them to eat." Bring out the loaves and the fishes, and let the almighty Saviour breathe his blessing upon them. He can transform and multiply our resources so that we shall have not only enough for America, but our baskets shall be filled with supplies for all the nations of the earth.

The Chairman next introduced Rev. Arthur Brooks, of New York.

REMARKS BY REV. ARTHUR BROOKS.

We have heard for the last three days a very discouraging statement of the position of things with regard to the Christian ministry. We have heard exhortations to the ministers to come out of their apathy and be courageous in new endeavor. But we have not heard it stated with sufficient clearness that, after all, the Christian ministry and the Christian church are exceedingly active and exceedingly earnest in what is put before them, but are sadly limited and hampered as to the most direct and powerful method of action. We have not heard enough of the one great existing resource of our country and of the church, which is above all others in power and influence; that is, the power of the living force, the living *man*. We have, undoubtedly, great Christian resources of other kinds, but if we had not the living men to go out and preach the gospel, our case would be desperate. When the multitude was fed on the hillside in Galilee, there was the Master, and there were the loaves and fishes, but after all there was an Andrew and a small boy, and if they had not been there, the multitude, apparently, would never have been fed, and would have gone away hungry.

This is not the first crisis that the Christian church has met. It began with precisely such difficulties as we have to-day, only they were on a larger scale than those we have now. There was such darkness of the human mind as is unknown to us to-day. How did our Master conquer that? By his own power, indeed, and by

the Holy Spirit, but he conquered also by the twelve men whom he sent out. If we have not the power of consecrated men to stand between God and the people who are to be brought to God, then, indeed, we have no resources upon which to rely.

We have in this country no religious establishment. A religious establishment, in other countries, means that every acre of the land is under the influence of a state church. Our people threw all that behind them. Our forefathers said, "Our country and our people are able to take care of themselves in religious matters." We were then a country with a widely distributed religious population. Now, the movement of our time has taken our people out of the country and massed them in the cities, as well as poured into both country and city this strange heterogeneous emigrant population of which we have heard so much. We have, therefore, country districts in which there is no knowledge of God taught, and we have city districts in which there is no knowledge of God prevailing. Until we bring into that city district and that country district the most eminent power to preach the word of God in its fullness, we shall not have brought the resources of our country fully to bear upon Christian work. And when we have once brought that, all else will follow.

What we need to-day is the means of bringing the most powerful men into the fields where the most difficult work is to be done. We want more ministers; everywhere, even from the South, whose religious condition has been so happily described to us, comes up the cry that the supply of able ministers of the New Testament is failing. But when we have them, we want to be able to place them where men's hearts are coldest and men's difficulties are greatest, and to proportion the ability of the man to the importance of the work which he has given him. A man must not be compelled to leave a hard field of work, for which he is well equipped and prepared, because the necessity of the proper training and education of his family call for greater resources than he can there obtain. It is better to spend thousands of dollars in supporting properly, good and strong men at needy points, than in the erection of buildings and the opening of secular and philanthropic agencies.

Unite rich and poor in one church by carrying the rich to the churches of the poor. We can do that if, in those churches, the men are to be found who can give the best exhortation, comfort and instruction. For that we shall need enlarged contributions and

endowments; but what does that mean, except that we are willing to put our most material and earthly resources, our money, at the service of our highest and most spiritual resource, our consecrated man. A celibate ministry we have forever rejected, and we know the blessing of the family life in connection with our ministry, as a center of pure and ennobling influences. We put that among the resources of our modern Christianity. But that we may keep and use our ministry, with its sphere of usefulness and influence thus enlarged, we must recognize its importance more clearly than ever; we must put it above all other considerations, and give to it of our best, whether it be the sons from our firesides or the money from our purses. For their personal strength and comfort the laity appreciate the ministry. They provide for them, and they give to them of their abundance. But as the great evangelizing power of the land, worth for what they accomplish far more than they can possibly cost, this value seems to be little understood. Our parishes provide for themselves strong men, but to place and maintain such men in the fields where the prospect is darkest and most discouraging, that is a policy of which as yet we see but few signs, and the inauguration of which would be a result well worthy of such a Conference as this.

The Chairman (General Hawley): Mr. Dodge asks me to make a few remarks. I would have no objection were the hour earlier. The subject is one not only of overwhelming importance, but it has also its fascinations. Pessimistic views very largely prevail in this country. It is a daily matter of conversation. Discussions of the future of our country, among men, even of intelligence, seem to excite the gloomiest anticipations. It does not seem to me that there ever was such a task placed before the people of any nation of the world, as is placed before the United States. There are coming here to us large numbers of people of all varieties of religion, and some of no religion at all. Some men come here because they love our form of government; others, not because they care about that, but hoping that in some way or other they will get an easier living here. Of course, one can make a gloomy picture out of such material.

It seems to me, however, that no man who has any belief in the Christian religion has any right to be a pessimist. [Applause.] I was not so taught to interpret the Bible. I was taught to believe in the future glory and absolute, final, magnificent triumph of our

institutions. It is a safe prophecy that, given a new, unoccupied continent, with a free school, a free press, free religion and a free ballot, in the end the truth, justice and wisdom of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ will win the fight. [Great applause.]

MORNING SESSION.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9.

Rev. J. G. Van Slyke, D. D., of Kingston, N. Y., and Rev. O. H. Tiffany, D. D., of Philadelphia, conducted the devotional exercises.

REMARKS BY MR. DODGE.

Mr. DODGE said: We have been together for two days, and have talked earnestly and thoughtfully of our perils, of our glorious opportunities, and of the great Christian resources, used and unused, of this country.

This morning we devote our thought to what, after all, is the turning-point of our whole work here—how, as Christian brothers, we can co-operate so that in aggressive work there shall be an advance along the whole line, wherever there is service to be done for the Master we all love. We know that in many things nothing can be done unless we are willing to co-operate and work together as servants of one Master, and we know that work can be done without touching our differences of ritual, or dogma, or thought, or form of worship. It is only as servants of Christ, loving one Lord and striving to save our country for him, that we shall best learn how to do his work.

We are pained and disappointed that the Rev. Dr. Storrs, the warm friend of this work, who expected to be with us this morning, has been prevented by illness, but he has prepared a careful paper which touches this point most closely, and which I know will interest everyone. It will be read by his friend and ours, Rev. Dr. Chamberlain, of Brooklyn.

NECESSITY OF CO-OPERATION IN CHRISTIAN WORK.

PAPER BY REV. R. S. STORRS, D. D., LL. D., BROOKLYN.

The argument on this subject can be put in small compass. It requires no expansion, or extended illustration. Indeed, the argument has been already effectively presented ; and all which needs to be done in this paper is to state the conclusion to which the preceding papers and debates must have conducted, with irresistible force, those who have given attention to them.

The perils which threaten the Christian civilization of our land, in our times, have been clearly set forth, without exaggeration, and certainly with no superfluous emphasis. There is a positive peril arising from the aggregation of vast multitudes in cities, of all races and tongues, of all possible varieties of faith and unbelief, among whom are many of the more resolute and skillful of the criminal class, among whom even those who desire to lead a quiet and orderly life have often few local attachments, with few confirmed neighborly sympathies, and where in the excitements and hurry of life it is hard to generate or to maintain a wise and controlling public sentiment. Other perils have also pressed themselves successively on our view ; from the immense foreign immigration continually pouring into the land, and bringing elements of ignorance, superstition, a degraded and hopeless poverty, a distrust of law as aristocratic and oppressive, with, not unfrequently, a distinctly anarchic socialism, constitutionally hostile to our liberal and Protestant institutions, and even to established social order ; from the misuse of wealth ; from illiteracy ; from the power of the saloon in political management, and in the direct control of votes ; from the estrangement of probably increasing multitudes from the church. There is peril to the family, from prevailing disregard of the sanctity and obligation of the marriage relation, from the social

vice, and from the pernicious facility of divorce ; peril to our intelligent Protestant faith, from the aggressive activity of a system of religion hostile to it, determined to substitute for it another gospel which is not another, and represented by a hierarchy compactly organized, richly endowed, and animated by a constant governing devotion to the pontiff at Rome ; peril to society, from the exaggerated and imperious claims of a considerable portion of those who depend on daily work for their daily wage, and from the temper of hostility toward accumulated capital which is perhaps extending among them.

All these have been impressively set forth ; and no doubt the facts thus presented and grouped are sufficient to excite, and fully to justify, grave apprehension in the minds of those whose thoughtful attention they have attracted. It may, not improbably, appear to some that they are perils too vehement and imminent to be either arrested or averted ; that contending against them will be like the effort to swim up stream against a fierce current ; that all which can be done is to build here and there a temporary dam and make occasional tranquil spaces, in which the furious press and rush of evil influences shall be checked or transiently suspended ; that any attempt to make good conquer evil and take the place of it in our rapid and turbulent American society, is almost hopeless from the beginning.

But, on the other hand, the Christian resources in the country for meeting this emergency in our history have been exhibited ; and it is evident that if they are called into full activity, and are wisely and efficiently used, there is no occasion for despair. The church of Christ, in the various sympathetic Protestant communions which here have their home, is not a feeble and forceless body, without clearness of brain or vigor of will, and without tenacious grip in its muscle. There is a distributed power in it, moral, spiritual, social, financial, which needs only to be fully evoked, and set at work in appropriate directions, to arrest the evils which threaten to overwhelm us, and to master them by the forces working for good, which are as fresh for us to-day as they were for the earliest Christian disciples, and which can surely conserve the Christian development which they have created. The only question is, How can these forces be summoned to the effort needing to be made, and be used most effectively for the accomplishment of the end which we all have at heart ? And the answer comes at

once, with a force as inevitable as that of the law of gravitation, bearing upon it as clear a self-evidence as belongs to the sunshine: It is to be done by bringing the scattered resources and energies which in their dispersion are relatively powerless, are certainly insufficient for the effect, into harmonious co-operation, making them interact on each other, while acting together to maintain the intelligence, the virtue, the religion, in which has been always, and must be hereafter as heretofore, the security and power of our civilization.

There is nothing artificial or fanciful or doubtful about this answer. It is not theoretic, conceived in the study, and elaborated by cautious speculative thought; it is intensely practical, appealing immediately to every man's judgment. It is not an unfamiliar suggestion, for the first time set forward under these special circumstances. It is generically the very answer which men instinctively make whenever a work too great for individual effort, but not too great for combined endeavor demands to be done. Every important manufacturing establishment is planted by the common counsels, with the combining labors and investments, of several or of many persons. So the railway is laid out and built; so the mine is developed; so the bank, the insurance company, the steamship line or the telegraph line, is organized and established; and so men unite for the furtherance of public welfare by any great local institution, the library, the hospital, the seminary or college. Governments are established or are revolutionized, reforms are initiated, philanthropies are advanced, city missions are prosecuted, on just this basis. Organic union is not required among those thus associated, in the church, or the club, or in the same political party. Co-operation in effort alone is needed: compacting into a whole, forces which in their separateness are weak; combining the individual wires, the tensile strength of each of which is not great, into the cable which can bear without yielding, enormous loads, with the incessantly repeated strain of severe concussive impacts. This is the law for the safe beginning and the prosperous progress of all large institutions, of all wide, popular movements; and this is the law which fronts us to-day, assembled in this Conference, with the peremptory challenge of an imperative command.

Such co-operation is needed for giving to all who earnestly desire the best things for our land, a place and a part in the work to be done: putting culture, where it exists, or genius, or wealth, or social influence, where such are found, side by side with energetic

purpose, a fervent zeal, a power to touch the popular heart; and making them all bear directly on the enlightening and rectifying efforts which are needed quite as much in our cities and prosperous towns as in remote hamlets, or along the frontiers, where the instincts and even the customs of barbarism constitute a continua. danger and threat. Such co-operation is essentially needed to keep the efforts of those who are willing to work and to give for the public welfare, from being wasted in the foolish enterprises of denominational rivalry, or worse than wasted, in the manifold bitter alienations and prejudices which these are wont to leave behind them.

It is needed to keep the spirit of those working together for the one supreme end, alive and alert; to reinforce it in courage, to animate it with hope, and to inspire and sustain an exhilarating enthusiasm, which shall count no labor too great to be attempted, no obstacle too great to be overcome, no sacrifice, even, too rare or exacting to be joyfully made. The minds of these, separated from others, even when attempting a noble enterprise, are apt to become moody and morbid through their isolation. Minorities, long continuing to be such, commonly become either timid or acrid in their temper. Courage, expectation, a certain dynamic force of faith, hope, and determinate resolution, come with the consciousness that multitudes with us are intent on the ends which to us are supreme; that we are essentially affiliated in purpose with a great host of eager, capable, strenuous laborers, determined on success and expecting to achieve it. The seeming paradox is thus realized, in which the whole becomes greater than the sum of its parts; as the army has a might which cannot be computed by adding to each other the individual forces of those assembled and organized in it.

For its effect, too, on those on whom a just and salutary moral impression needs to be made, such co-operation appears indispensable. Individual effort they will scoff at, as palpably, even ludicrously, ineffective. Dissociated effort of scattered and unallied squads of workers will have but little importance to their minds. But if all who love the truth and the Master, who value righteousness, who feel in themselves the impulsions of charity, and who are determined to make our Christian civilization secure and permanent, and to perfect its beauty, shall combine—as they may—to dissipate error, to conquer vice, to subdue the forces of misrule, to

extend the range of a pure religion, and to further that magnificent welfare which education, virtue and religion subserve, then the energy of their co-operative purpose will infallibly be recognized, its power will be felt, and evil influences will widely cower and shrink before it.

As to the methods of such co-operation it does not belong to me to speak. They will be presented clearly and earnestly, I am sure, with a wisdom corresponding to the earnestness, by those to whom that branch of the subject has been committed. As to the necessity of such co-operation, on which I have said words enough, perhaps, to furnish a text for further discussion, I am sure that I have said no word too much. It, and it only, can by any possibility lay firmly the foundations on which the great structure of an intelligent, free, advancing civilization is here to be reared or to be sustained. Without it, we may well despair. With it, we may have the assured hope which nothing enfeebles and nothing daunts, and which bears within it the presage of success. Without it, the Christian forces in the country will still be a multitude, but they will in no sense form a body, harmoniously working, with manifold instruments, for a common end, under the inspiration of one sovereign spirit. With it, they will be associated forces, moving consentaneously on different but converging lines, and marching to victory as an army with banners.

I cannot but think that the best instruction which God has to give to his people to-day, in the nation which he providentially planted, and to which he has given such promise of the future, and such opportunity and power for good, will concern the method of securing among them that cordial sympathy and mutual respect in which past differences shall be forgotten, and out of which shall come a co-operative effort for the accomplishment of spiritual ends, as naturally and surely as such effort comes when great secular works, of commerce or of politics, engage men's minds. For such instruction we must pray; and when its stately though soundless pillar of light shall show the way, we must be eager to walk therein !

Mr. Dodge: I am sure that all the members of the Conference will join the officers of the Alliance in thanking Dr. Storrs most heartily for his kindness in preparing this paper, although himself prevented from being here. [Applause.]

I now have the great pleasure of introducing to the Conference the Right Rev. Samuel Harris, Bishop of Michigan, who will address us in regard to co-operation.

NECESSITY OF CO-OPERATION IN CHRISTIAN WORK.

ADDRESS BY BISHOP SAMUEL HARRIS, D. D., LL. D., MICHIGAN.

Mr. President: As I understand it, this Conference is the outcome of a great popular movement. It represents a deep and wide-spread concern for the safety and perpetuity of our free institutions and our popular government. It is felt that a crisis in our national history has arrived, when it is the duty of Americans to take counsel together concerning the preservation of American interests. This feeling is shared by millions of our countrymen, who are of one mind in the estimate which they set on our American civilization, and of one heart in their entire devotion to it. And while, sir, we who take part in these deliberations can claim no formal representative character, yet there is a real sense in which we are representatives. For we are here simply in obedience to a great popular impulse. It becomes us, therefore, to speak with simplicity, with courage and with candor—with the simplicity of men who are subdued by a sense of great responsibilities, with the courage of men who speak out of deep convictions of duty, and with the candor of men who are stirred by the imminence of conflict and the presence of danger.

For, sir, it is well seen that the peculiar civilization which we are concerned to defend and preserve is gravely threatened. There are vast and hostile forces of evil that are being marshaled and organized against it. While those whose feelings and convictions we share are divided, scattered and dispersed, there are magnificent combinations and organizations of those who contend against and oppose what we hold dear, and there are strongholds of vantage that are being garrisoned and manned in our very midst.

It is felt, therefore, that the need of this hour is co-operation

among all true lovers of our country and of its civilization as we understand it; that it would be madness for those whom we represent to remain divided in this hour of danger. In other words, it is felt that if our American civilization is much longer to endure as we prize it, then combination must take the place of division, and co-operation must take the place of competition, among the evangelical Christians of this land. [Applause.]

But, sir, the movement which has brought us together depends upon convictions which are even more definite and cogent. I have said that it is our American civilization which we are concerned to defend and preserve. The term, though large, has, nevertheless, a definite meaning. The civilization which is established here has its own peculiar character, and we believe that it is the outcome of centuries of our Christian development, and that essentially, and in its ideal form, it is the very flower and consummation of that development. Any essential change, therefore, in our civilization we would esteem to be a grievous loss, and any departure from its type would be a degeneration, whether radical or reactionary. We believe that Bishop Berkeley was speaking not only in poetic but in prophetic strain when, from the rocks of New England, he saw and sang the completion here of the divine plan in the great drama of human history. And the reasons upon which these convictions are founded are, if well taken, of the utmost dignity and force. For we believe that the great Statesman who projected our civilization was Jesus of Nazareth. We believe that he long ago laid down the principles upon which our civil society was founded. We believe that the revelation by him of God's fatherhood was the declaration of man's brotherhood. We believe that his proclamation of a message of peace and pardon, as an amnesty to be personally received and personally appropriated by the individual soul, was the proclamation of man's emancipation from all despotisms, whether socialistic or imperial. We believe that when he inaugurated his cross, he decreed the condemnation and overthrow of all tyrannies, whether of superstition or of force, and that he proposed, as the goal of human progress, the establishment of liberty under the protection of eternal law.

Long did these principles have to contend with manifold oppositions. World-emperors and world-popes, temporal despotisms and spiritual tyrannies, long thwarted and resisted them. But under the leadership of Christ they won their gradual way. The Reforma-

tion was one of their victories; the revival of learning, the renaissance of art, the inauguration of the inductive method in science and philosophy, marked their triumphal progress. In the meanwhile, Protestant jurists, philosophers and divines, like Grotius and Locke and Hoadley and Warburton, were formulating the principles of civil and religious freedom, in accordance with which our fathers built the great republic.

And so it came to pass that in spite of the aristocratic tendencies and traditions of some of our Revolutionary sires, and in spite of the theocratic tendencies and purposes of others, our fathers builded wiser than they knew, because the providence of history held up before their eyes the ideal of a state which was present to the mind of Jesus. Therefore our attachment to our American civilization is more than a civic preference or patriotic affection. It is founded on a deep devotion to our divine Master and Lord. We account our American civilization to be both Protestant and evangelical, and therefore to be equally opposed to imperialism and socialism. [Applause.] And we are concerned to defend it against all attacks, not simply because it is ours, but because we believe it is our Lord's.

Now, sir, the consistency of the divine purpose in establishing our evangelical civilization here is signally illustrated in the fact that it was primarily confided to the keeping of the Anglo-Saxon race. By reason of its peculiar characteristics and its training in history, that race was singularly fitted for its task: endowed with a certain race conservatism and a certain persistency of race type, it has sturdily maintained itself, even to the present time. Refusing to depart from its own type, it has compelled other peoples to conform to that type and constrained them to accept its institutions, to speak its language, to obey its laws. Hence, in spite of the enormous immigration that has come to these shores, our civilization has mainly continued to be an Anglo-Saxon civilization. We have continued mainly to preserve our old Anglo-Saxon ideas of home and school, just as we have been able to keep habeas corpus and trial by jury. And so it has come to pass that, although our nation is composite, it continues to be homogeneous, obeying the laws of Alfred and speaking the language of Shakespeare and Milton. [Applause.]

Along with these characteristics there have been others that have been preserved: a certain sturdy loyalty to conscience; the fact

that duty, not glory, is the watchword of heroism; an intense devotion to the sanctity and inviolability of home; a jealous regard for local privileges and personal rights; a spirit that is at once conservative and progressive, that is able to remember and venerate its own past, while it stretches forward into the future; in philosophy, a regard for what is practical; in religion, a devotion to what is ethical and real. These are the characteristics which up to this time have safeguarded our Anglo-Saxon civilization, expressing themselves in the constancy with which up to this time, thank God, our people have defended an open Bible, the Christian Sabbath, liberty of conscience, and the dignity of a sober, decent and reasonable worship. [Applause, and cries of "Hear, hear."]

But, Mr. President, divine Providence does not guarantee the faithfulness nor ensure the safety of any nation, no matter how honored and favored. Though this civilization be of God, yet it must be kept and defended by man. The path of human history is strewn with the monuments of national dereliction and consequent decay. We have but to remember desolate Jerusalem, and ruined Antioch, and wasted Ephesus, and grass-grown Thyatira, to know that golden opportunities and royal privileges may be forfeited by whole peoples as well as by individual men; and that when the faithless nation is derelict, then its type begins to be depraved, its civilization begins to decay, and the light sweeps back upon the sun-dial that marks its progress. It has been so in other ages and beneath other skies, and it will be so even here, unless we front and resist the dangers that threaten us.

What those dangers are—oh! I am no alarmist, but I would be honest to-day—what those dangers are, my brethren, has been fitly told us. We should be fools and blind if we did not see them; we should be cowards and traitors if we did not front and fight them. [Applause.] They are not new; they are old—old and grim as the immemorial darkness out of which they come. Our fathers have met them and put them to rout on a hundred battle-fields. [Applause.] But now they are swelling to vaster proportions; and what is more, they are beginning to show a purpose to combine, a genius for organization, while our forces are all scattered and divided. Not only are they assaulting our outworks, but they are setting up their banners around our very citadel; they are beginning to work treason in our own ranks, to seduce our politicians, to betray our leaders; they are begin-

ning to debauch the public conscience in order that they may destroy its liberty.

What, then, is the duty of this hour, but co-operation? [Applause.] There is need for all Protestant lovers of their country to co-operate in Christian work. The words of the theme of this hour are none too strong. There is a necessity of co-operation. But, Mr. President, it is necessary to bear in mind and constantly to affirm that the kind of co-operation which we are concerned to promote is not political. It should constantly be borne in mind that it will not do, Christian brethren, for us to be suspected of being here to serve or to contest any party claims or any party ends. [Applause, and cries of "Hear, hear."] The spheres of state and church are distinct. Jesus long ago decreed it, when he said, "My kingdom is not of this world." We all have our own serious and earnest political convictions, and each one of us is convinced, I trust, that his convictions are right. But, my brethren, we are here to consider something far more profound than any political issues: to consider how public opinion may be regenerated, how the public conscience may be requickened, how the national instinct may be revived, and how that ultimate power may be best invoked which shall save the precious liberties of body, mind and soul, for us and for our children. [Applause.]

Sir, if I dared to content myself with taking a merely superficial view of this question, I might well pause here to emphasize the necessity of co-operation in order to preserve those institutions which are at once the outcome of evangelical civilization and its best defense. Pardon me if I do pause for a moment in order to mention a single one of those institutions, which will best illustrate the force of my argument. It has passed into a proverb, that the safety and perpetuity of republican institutions depend upon the virtue and intelligence of the people. Now, sir, there is one American institution, the peculiar outcome of our evangelical civilization, which is far more essential to good citizenship than is ordinarily supposed, and that is imperiled this day—far more gravely imperiled than you and I, perhaps, have hitherto thought. I mean the free common schools of our country. [Applause.]

Sir, I live in a state where that system is elaborated, manned and equipped, and where it is contending daily and hourly and hand to hand with the most tremendous problems of foreign immigration. As I go about, I see the work that it is doing. I see

that it emancipates the children of aliens, and not only fits them for freedom, but it is making them free. I see the shackles of error and superstition fall from their minds. It is the greatest work that is being done for good in this land, my brethren, against ultramontanism to-day. [Applause.] Nevertheless we Protestants, by our divisions, have almost betrayed it. By our divisions we have almost surrendered, as we have already discredited, this precious power. With wily cunning, ultramontanism has taken advantage of the divisions of Protestantism in order to banish the Bible from our public schools. And now, with savage inconsistency, it redoubles its attacks upon them because they are godless. The answer is, "No, no, not godless yet, though you have attempted to make them so; not godless yet, so long as godly men and women are the teachers; not godless yet, so long as our children shall issue from Christian homes in the morning and return to Christian homes at night." [Applause.] But we Protestants, by our divisions, have left our common schools almost defenseless, while ultramontanism is making its organized assaults upon them. To our shame be it said that we have neglected, practically disowned, the offspring of our own civilization, handing it over to the tender mercies of selectmen or supervisors, who are often but the tools or the dupes of ultramontanism or infidelity. [Applause.]

Ah! Christian friends, unless we are blind and mad, this must not continue to be so; but the great Protestant communions must co-operate to defend and preserve our common schools, well knowing that, in spite of all our neglect, it is there that ultramontanism is being confronted and withstood to-day.

But, sir, I dare not rest my case in any view which, however conclusive, is merely superficial. It is not simply for systems and institutions that we are concerned, but it is also for the truth and life which sustain and support them. It has well been said by our brother, the Secretary of this Alliance, in words which I hope will live (I believe they will), that the great danger that confronts us is sin—sin in the form of worldliness or sensuality or selfishness or unbelief; sin, which gladly welcomes skepticism or socialism or ultramontanism, or any system that proposes to remit personal responsibility; sin, which loves and gladly welcomes anything that panders to the indolence and pride of the human heart. It is because human governments cannot deal with sin, but only with

conduct; it is because schools cannot rehabilitate the decrepit will and regenerate the insurgent or depraved affections, that politics and education alone cannot cure our evils. Sin is the arch enemy of our civilization, and for this the one and only remedy is the gospel of the grace of Jesus the crucified. [Applause.]

What we need, my Christian brethren—let us not conceal it or gloss it over—what this hour is calling for as with the peal of a trumpet, is *religious co-operation*—that kind of co-operation which shall best set forward the interests of evangelical Christianity in our land.

When, fourteen years ago, the great Evangelical Alliance met in the city of New York, the divisions of Protestantism were apologized for and defended. It is true that even then some brave words were uttered, pointing out the essential and ineradicable evils of such division; as when the brave and good Professor Tayler Lewis said, "Division is never to be treated as a good *per se*. I can never go with those who regard denominational distinctions as things totally innocent or indifferent, much less desirable. Let union—ecclesiastical union—take place without delay, between those bodies that are divided by the least interval. Let the last parting be the first to come together. Let it be deeply impressed on every mind that the greatness of the sin of schism is in the inverse ratio of the smallness of the dividing interval." [Applause.]

But, my brethren, the weight of the thinking and of the utterance at that time were on the other side. The divisions of Protestant Christendom were not regarded as evil. Now, however, a new spirit is abroad, and is growing in strength, thank God! [Applause.] I have not time to discuss the causes of the change, though those causes are most interesting and important. Suffice it to say that a great awakening is taking place, I believe, in this land of ours. Everywhere is being felt, with more and more distinctness, that division is at once the opprobrium and the weakness of Protestant Christianity. [Applause.] Ah! my heart was stirred; I felt that a new era had begun to dawn, that the old night of brotherly strife was almost past, when my dear friend, the Secretary of this Alliance, sent me the invitation to come and speak here on this topic, and when he said, "The new work of the Evangelical Alliance is inspired by the conviction that the time has fully come when co-operation among denominations and local churches must take the place of competition." [Great applause.]

Yes, friends, the time has fully come when, if this American civilization of ours, which we are set to defend and preserve, is much longer to endure, there must be co-operation.

Let me give two or three reasons which support this claim. The first I need only barely mention. It has been already alluded to. And that is, the necessity of making the most of our resources, to prevent the wicked waste of energy and power which is sapping the very life of Protestantism. Why, sir, in the great West—nay, all over our land—there are thousands of places where there are resources and room for only one evangelical body, and where the Christians, if we preachers would let them, notwithstanding their differences of taste and opinion, would gladly unite and form one Christian family. [Great applause.] In many such places—Oh! I fear I must say in all of them—such Christians are divided into one, two, three, six, a dozen feeble sects, struggling, not against sin and worldliness, but for bare existence, and working, not against evil, but against one another—a sight to make devils laugh, but angels weep.

The same evil consequences result from our divisions in our great centers of population. The cry is going up that our great cities are being lost. Why is it, except that the strong and well-furnished men, who have built our cities and who ought to hold them for freedom and for God, are hopelessly divided among themselves, thinking only of their little sectarian interests, while ultramontanism and its secret allies are working together. Brethren, this is enough to show the evils of our divisions—the wild, wicked waste of power, of resource, of energy, of purpose.

But I pass to another reason, not so often insisted on. There is a necessity of co-operation among Protestants in order adequately to provide for, and consider the tremendous problems of human destitution, incapacity and want. As our country grows older and richer, these categories of human need increase. As the country grows, the proletariat grows, and the ranks of those who call themselves "the disinherited." Oh! ill-omened word! The disinherited are constantly increasing. Under the influence of misleading traditions and false theories brought with them from the Old World, they use their freedom here for the purpose of forming combinations which strike at the root of freedom, and organize a fierce socialism which is at once a portentous insurrection and a monstrous despotism. It is a reaction toward the condition of tribal

savagery, from which it has been the function of the gospel to lift men. Its deepest and most violent antagonisms are not against wealth merely, but are against human liberty, against individual hope, individual aspiration, individual freedom.

What is the remedy? You may tell me, "The law." I answer, "The gospel." [Applause.] You may tell me, "Force." I answer, "Love." [Applause.] Nevertheless, brethren, because of our divisions Protestant Christianity has lost touch with the disinherited. By our divisions we shall cease to sympathize with men as men. We are losing our power to enter into the lives and hearts of men as men, because we segregate our sympathies into the channels of narrow sectarian work. Ah! yes, friends, I tell you that the very first duty of Protestants is to come together, in order to regain our sympathy with men as men, and in order to illustrate the truth of that principle which we preach, in order to urge and teach contentment and neighborliness to the poor and rich alike, in order to illustrate man's brotherhood by bringing the rich and poor together in the house of God, and in order to urge and teach effectually the old truth that a man's life consisteth not in the things that he hath. It is just here that Protestantism, divided as it is, has lost its influence over the masses, because our divisions have impoverished our love for man as man, and because our very charities are made narrow, exclusive, sectarian, ineffectual. It is just here that ultramontanism makes its great appeal, by its magnificent organized charities. I know, sir, full well, how faulty Rome's pretentious institutionalism is. I know that often it fails to minister to the want that it creates, that it often encourages a thriftlessness which it leaves us Protestants to feed and clothe. I know perfectly well that as a charitable system it is for the most part a stupendous failure, while as a financial system it is a brilliant success—building its churches and its schools and sending jubilee gifts to a foreign pontiff. But, at all events, ultramontanism does pretend to care for the poor, and it has a magnificent system for showing its care, while divided Protestantism cannot even undertake to do this, and therefore it fails to exercise its noblest functions, to do what it could do, if it would co-operate, better than ultramontanism or any other system in the world—that is, show forth the truth of its own great principle that all men are free and equal before God. [Applause.]

But, sir, I rise to reasons of even higher dignity and force.

Co-operation is necessary in order to preserve the integrity of faith and perpetuate its power. The power of true Christianity depends largely on the maintenance of the proportion of faith, on the assignment of its regal truths to the sovereign positions which they are entitled to occupy, and in the keeping of all secondary truths and mere opinions in strict subordination. But, Christian brethren, it is the tendency of division to break up that classification, to degrade those regal truths by lifting secondary truths and mere opinions to an equality with them—[At this point the warning bell was struck, indicating that the speaker had but three minutes in which to conclude. Cries of "Go on, go on."]—nay, to lift up those things above those regal truths; because you and I know that it is regarding secondary truths and mere matters of opinion that we Protestants have divided. [Cries of "Hear, hear."] Ah, do we not therefore seem to justify the reproach that, after all, it is not for truth, but for mere opinion or taste, that we are contending with one another? [Applause.] The only remedy for this is for us to co-operate in the defense of the eternal truth. That is the only answer and the only remedy.

So also in regard to the historic relation of such truths. Evangelical Christianity has a noble past. It is entitled to claim its inheritance of all the ages. There is no single feature of apostolic order that we evangelical Christians may not co-operate and claim for all of us if we will, without sacrificing a single verity, and so reclaim the dignity and the grandeur of that historic order which good men once felt it necessary to surrender for a time, but which our loving God, in his good providence, has preserved for us all, and which are now freely offered to all the heirs of our common lineage. It is not my part to enlarge upon this; but, brethren, I will not stand here and fail to make briefest allusion to it. Co-operation—oh! real co-operation—is all that is necessary to bring us together, and to make us the sharers of the historic faith, the defenders of the historic order. [Applause. Here the bell struck, indicating that Bishop Harris's time had expired.]

I have left myself no time to allude to the greatest reason of all [Cries of "Go on, go on."], but happily you are all conversant with it.

PRESIDENT MCCOSH: I move that we give him ten minutes more. [Applause.]

Bishop Harris continued: I want only three minutes. Co-oper-

ation is necessary in order to fulfill the mind of Christ and to convert the world. The honor of Jesus and the world's conversion are bound up in the theme of this hour. He whose we are and whom we serve has solemnly declared it to be so. He has declared that the conversion of the world and his own honor depend upon the oneness of those who believe in him. [Applause.]

In the upper chamber at old Jerusalem, on the night of his Passion and after his great Supper, he prayed, in the midst of his disciples, his memorable intercessory prayer. He said: "I pray for them. Sanctify them through thy truth. Thy word is truth. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us."

My Christian brethren, we dare not claim for ourselves or for our constituencies that we have hitherto been one in the meaning and the spirit of that prayer. We know that we have been miserably and selfishly divided, and therefore the work of evangelical Christianity languishes; the liberty of mind and soul and spirit, which Jesus gave to our fathers for our inheritance, is endangered. The poor are wandering about our land as disinherited indeed, unblessed, uncared for and unfed. The cry of desolate cities is going up to God. The church—oh! she mourns for these her wandering children, for even the disinherited are yet the children of our common Father. And so the light of our evangelical Christianity and civilization is beginning to grow dim.

The remedy is simple. I do not say it is easy, or easily applied, but I do say that there can be no manner of doubt as to what that remedy is. Brethren, it is co-operation, unity—such unity as shall abolish our divisions and extirpate our competitions and settle our jealousies and strifes. It is for nothing less than such co-operation that I have dared to plead this day in the presence of my Master and before you, my brethren, as I have stood here to speak of the necessity of co-operation. [Applause.]

Mr. Dodge: As I was coming yesterday to one of these services in a crowded car, everybody excepting one old lady got out at the corner and came to the church. She turned inquiringly to the conductor and asked, "Why, where are all those people going?" He replied, "There is an Angelical Alliance meeting up here." [Laughter and applause.]

Was there not a shadow of truth in that remark? Have we not felt the spirit prayed for and spoken of by our dear brother who has just sat down? Is it not possible that the angels are hovering here, and wondering whether we, Christ's children, are willing to rise to our opportunities, and whether, in the grand work to be done for him, we are ready to co-operate?

I have now great pleasure in introducing to the Conference one who has done much to teach us all in regard to this great subject, and who, I know, will be listened to with delight—Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, of Columbus, Ohio.

NECESSITY OF CO-OPERATION IN CHRISTIAN WORK.

ADDRESS BY REV. WASHINGTON GLADDEN, D. D., LL. D., OF COLUMBUS, O.

It seems to be universally acknowledged that the existing divisions in the Christian church are needless, wasteful and pernicious. Diversity of operation there might be, and must be; for, in grace as in nature the divine power works with manifold wisdom, producing a rich and beautiful variety of characters, activities, organizations. Uniformity of belief, of polity, of ritual, is neither attainable nor desirable. But diversity is one thing, and division is another. Oak and elm and pine and palm stand each in his own order, with a glory of his own, but among them is no schism; lily and larkspur, sumac and syringa, all have their own ways of proclaiming the beauty of the Lord, but they do not trample one another under foot, nor dispute with one another the claim to the sunniest places in his garden. Unlike these diversities in nature, the divisions in the church of Christ manifest, not variety merely, but also variance. It is not only the manifold wisdom of God that they display, but the multiform perversity of men.

The life of the Spirit might reveal itself in many forms of faith, in numberless methods of work; but it cannot be the life of the Spirit that finds expression in the tempers and the practices that are constantly displayed in the relations of these sects one to another. That the new commandment should govern congregations as well as individuals, that there should be mutual friendship and helpfulness among neighboring churches, seems to be evident enough on the face of it; but the churches are imperfectly Christianized; under the draperies of courtesy the weapons of a bitter and unscrupulous rivalry are often concealed.

That such divisions are scandalous, seems, I say, to be generally admitted; the matter is one that appears to be lying, of late, rather

heavily on the conscience of Christendom; and there is a great deal of talk about it, as to how it came to be, and who is to blame for it, and what can be done to make an end of it. For the cure of this malady, some of the ecclesiastical physicians prescribe organic unity. But it is evident to-day that such a formal consolidation of the churches under one government is yet a long way off. What changes the years may bring we cannot predict, but the conditions are not yet ripe for any attempt in this direction.

Another suggestion looks toward liturgical uniformity. It is urged that, if the people could be induced to sing the same hymns and pray the same prayers, a foundation would be laid for closer fellowship. But I apprehend that this proposition would meet with no more favor than the other. Some changes in the simple ritual of our non-Episcopal churches are already in progress—changes in the direction of congregational worship; but this movement has gone about as far as it will go; and the prejudice—if you please to call it by that name—against any fixed forms of worship is still inveterate in all these churches. If we must wait for Christian union till it comes as a result of liturgical uniformity, we shall have long to wait.

Another prescription for the malady of schism is an increase of sentimental unity—more frequent union meetings, in which we can tell one another how much we love one another, and thus manifest to the world the fact that we are really one. It is all very well, doubtless, for us to tell one another publicly that we love one another, if it is true; and we cannot too diligently manifest the fact that we are one, if it is a fact; but it is not edifying to tell one another untruths; and if there are suspicions of sham in our exhibit of fraternity, the world will not fail to make the most of them. In sad truth, however, we have said so much about Christian union and have done so little, that talk on this theme is discredited; there has been a tremendous over-issue of these verbal endearments, with the natural consequence of a great depreciation. The inflation of our religious phraseology is one of our common disorders; the product is what we call cant; and there is no part of our familiar religious speech that is more grievously inflated than that which relates to Christian union. We shall not mend matters, therefore, by increasing the wordy circulation, though that is the remedy generally resorted to in times of inflation. Profession would better halt until practice comes in sight.

Sentimental unity is nugatory; liturgical uniformity and consolidated government are impracticable. Is there any other remedy for this curse of schism within the reach of the churches? It seems to me that there is such a remedy; and that it is best described by the word which furnishes our theme for the morning—co-operation. Surely the possibility of co-operation and the duty of co-operation are beyond controversy. We may not all believe the same things; but we can agree that those who are seeking the kingdom of God and its righteousness should not hinder or obstruct one another; that they should seek to combine their efforts for the establishment of this kingdom.

To some extent these divided churches do already co-operate. Members go from one church to another, and are received into full fellowship; ministers pass from the service of one denomination to that of another, in some cases, with scarcely a word of comment; in most cases, with no serious loss of reputation among those from whom they are separated. This is practical co-operation. Such a free exchange of workers is helpful to the work. In the kingdom of heaven, as well as in the kingdom of industry, the mobility of labor is a matter of importance.

United efforts are sometimes made for the prosecution of evangelistic work. Sometimes these efforts appear to be successful; in the view of many they are highly desirable. Under wise management we might gather into the churches those who were before beyond their reach. But I am not inclined to value these efforts so highly, as some good men do, because I believe that the church is the strategic center of evangelistic effort; and that a movement which calls the people away from the churches, and undertakes, by means of services somewhat spectacular and sensational in rinks and theaters, to develop a sporadic and exceptional religious interest, is attended with so many drawbacks, and with so much demoralization in the life and work of the churches, that its net gains are small. The number of conversions in these meetings is always enormously exaggerated; and those who do profess conversion under such circumstances are with great difficulty brought into the churches. The attempt to evangelize a city by great union meetings of this description is a little like the attempt to warm a city by a big bonfire in the public square. It is much better to warm the houses; and the houses can only be warmed by carrying the fire into them. Wholesale evangelization is not, according to

my observation, profitable business; the hand-to-hand work of the churches is far more productive in the long run. We have no arithmetic with which to compute or compare the intrinsic value of souls; but if by a soul you mean a man—and that is probably the most intelligible definition of the word—then it is safe to say that a man converted in a church is worth to the kingdom of heaven here on the earth, more than a man converted in a rink. Moreover, the abandonment of the regular work of the churches for a considerable period, and the resort to these outside assemblies, seems to be an admission of the truth of the gravest charge against the churches—that they are inadequate to the work of evangelization. I do not like to make this admission. What is still more important, the kind of doctrine, and especially of Biblical interpretation, to which we are treated in these evangelistic services, under such leadership as is generally secured, is rather hard to endure. It often becomes a serious question with a conscientious pastor, how far he can countenance teachings which, although for the moment they may seem to be effective in exciting the emotions of ignorant people, are certain in the end to prove destructive to the Christian faith. For all these reasons, I do not expect to see these methods of wholesale evangelization growing in favor among the churches. I speak my own thought, and fully recognize the fact that many good men do not accept my estimate; but it is not, I think, in this direction that we shall wisely look for increasing co-operation in Christian work.

The thing to be aimed at is much less ambitious and demonstrative. It involves not the merging of the churches in some grand outside combination, but the strengthening of the churches, each in its own field, for its own proper work. And to this end it is of the first importance that each church should have a field of its own, in which it shall not be intruded upon, and a definite work to do, for which it shall be held responsible. The co-operation, which is necessary and imperative, is that which shall prevent destructive competition, and which shall secure the prompt and certain occupation of all neglected fields. The phenomenon which now everywhere confronts us, is the overcrowding of most of the prosperous and promising neighborhoods, and the abandonment of those which are inhabited by the poor. In every booming town, and in the favorite residence portion of every city, you find twice as many churches as are needed; in many a rural district, and in

all the more densely populated quarters of our great cities, there are not half as many churches as are needed. In that section of New York City which is bounded by Central Park on the north, Twenty-third Street on the south, Third Avenue on the east, and Sixth Avenue on the west, there are a great many more churches than the population requires. In all that part of the city below Fourteenth Street, largely inhabited by working people, the churches are few in proportion to the population. This is a typical instance. Something like it can be seen in most of our cities. In western towns with great expectations, the churches are multiplied in a preposterous way. Often you will find ten religious societies in a town of fifteen hundred people. The existence of these churches illustrates the lack of that co-operation for which I am pleading. It is competition, not co-operation, that has planted them. The immediate result of genuine Christian co-operation in one of these towns would be the extermination of half its churches.

The Christian co-operation which the times demand, will follow the hearty recognition of one simple principle—that of the equality of all Christian churches. Without the recognition of this principle no valuable co-operation will ever be secured; the cordial acceptance of it would open a clear path for all Christians to be workers together with God.

A prominent clergyman of one of the Protestant denominations said in the meeting of the Church Congress, at Hartford: "The denomination which I represent on this platform generously recognizes the parity of every other Christian church." "Generously" is not a felicitous word in this connection. There is no generosity in recognizing other people's rights. Omitting the adverb, the declaration fairly states what ought to be. I wish it were true of the denomination of which it was affirmed—or of any other denomination! Where is the sect that honestly recognizes the parity of every other Christian church—even of those with which it professes to be in fellowship? In union meetings, as I have said, the fact is profusely recognized; in church work it is generally ignored. The zealous sectarian propagandist is not often restrained from pushing his enterprises, by the presence of another Christian church in the field which he wishes to occupy. Some members of his denomination are in that neighborhood, and he proposes, as he says, "to take care of them." This means that the faith and the morals of these fellow-sectaries of his would suffer if they were

permitted to become communicants in another Christian church. If the church now occupying the field were of his own denomination, he would say, unhesitatingly, that there was no room for another church. The reason why he pushes his new enterprise on is simply this: he believes in his heart that his church is the only true church; and that the other, though bearing the name of a church, and good enough to say sweet things about in union meetings, is really of a type so defective and degraded that all members of the true church should be diligently kept from all association with it. It is ridiculous and disgusting for those who believe in this way to say that they believe in the parity of Christian churches. But such things are occurring over all the land every day, and nothing can be plainer than that they are due to a shameless repudiation of this principle. To enforce this principle, therefore, to show its implications, and to get it recognized everywhere, is the first condition of successful co-operation. Not much harmony of action can be secured among churches that do not honestly respect one another's rights. And the right to life is certainly as sacred as any other.

We must endeavor to convince our zealous propagandists that the Golden Rule applies to churches as well as to individuals. You strenuous Congregationalists, who are burning to plant a new church of your own in the midst, betwixt a Presbyterian church on the one hand and a Methodist church on the other, consider how you would be affected if one of those churches were your church, and if a greedy Presbyterian or Methodist came forcing his church into your field, already fully occupied.

Having won for the principle of the parity of the churches some measure of genuine respect, we shall clearly see the necessity of the next and most important step, which is *frequent and regular friendly consultations of the churches of the vicinage, through representatives selected by them, about the work in their common field.* We have ministers' meetings now, in many of our cities, but these will not at all answer the purpose. It is the churches and not merely the clergy that must confer and co-operate; and the counsel and help of the laymen are indispensable to any effective work. The question would arise as to what churches should be included in this consultation. That matter should be determined by each group of churches for itself. Every church accepting the creed of the Evangelical Alliance might be invited. For myself I should prefer, for this purpose

of conference, to make the Apostles' Creed the basis of union. It would not, I think, be impossible to agree upon some satisfactory platform. In the large cities it would be difficult to bring all the churches together; but, as Dr. Strong has suggested, two or more wards of a city might form a group, with a defined district and a manageable territory. The whole city could in this manner be subdivided.

The representatives of the churches thus assembled must bind themselves strictly to conference upon the work to be done in their proper field. They can have nothing to do with doctrines or politics or liturgies or laws. Their sole business is to find out what are the needs of the community in which they stand, and how those needs may best be supplied. They are simply the outlook committee of the kingdom of heaven in that field. First they must inform themselves respecting the condition of every neighborhood in their diocese; and this information will be full of food for thought, and of stimulus to action.

Why should not the representatives of the churches in every community assemble thus, statedly, to confer together respecting the work to be done by them in Christianizing that community? What right have they to neglect this consultation, and to go on year by year in their careless, hap-hazard, competitive propagandism—with no method in their campaigning but the method of Kilkenny Fair? How can any work so vast and intricate and delicate as this, be effectively done without good understanding among the workers? In many things they cannot agree. That goes without saying. Questions will be started that must be dropped summarily and finally because it is impossible to reach unanimity concerning them. But the point is to find out what the subjects are upon which they *do* agree; the interests in which they can unite. Their differences may be taken for granted at the outset. The object of their coming together is not to discuss these, but to see how many kinds of Christian work they can cordially unite in doing.

There is reason to hope that such a conference of the churches of any city or neighborhood would interpose a powerful check to that over-production of church organizations in the favorite localities of cities and in the growing towns, which has become such a scandal to our common Christianity. That would be one of its first results. I cannot think it possible that we should see what

we now see on the Back Bay in Boston, or on Murray Hill in New York, or in many of our western towns, if the Christians of these communities had been in frequent friendly consultation about their common work. A wholesome public opinion would have been generated in these conferences which would have restrained the sections. In the republic of God, as in every other republic, the ultimate power is a sanctified public opinion; and there is need of some means of developing and directing this public opinion, so that its impulse and its restraint shall be effective. That service would be rendered by such a conference as I am advocating. This body would not need to possess power over the churches; indeed its best results would be secured if it wholly refused to exercise any, even the faintest semblance of ecclesiastical functions, and devoted itself mainly to investigating, discussing, and reporting to the public the facts respecting the condition and the needs of the field committed to its care.

Of course it would be speedily ascertained that large sections of the larger cities are greatly neglected; and, without usurping authority over the churches, this conference might aid in dividing up this neglected territory among them, so that every portion of it should be under the care of some particular church. As to the methods by which this work may be done, Dr. Strong will speak more fully; I only indicate it as one of the things to be aimed at in the co-operation of the churches. To secure the thorough shepherding of all the neglected multitudes, to make sure that every square of every ward in every city is assigned to some church, or some Sunday-school, or some religious organization which is distinctly responsible for the care of it, and is called on at stated intervals to make report of what it has done and is doing, or of what it has failed to do—this is a great step in the direction of Christian union. If the churches can unite sufficiently to accomplish this, they will have gone far toward a solution of the problem we are considering.

Is there any reason why the churches of any community, acting as one body or divided into convenient groups by geographical boundaries, should not undertake such a systematic division of the whole field among themselves? Is not such an assignment of the destitute portions of the city to the several churches or religious organizations a perfectly feasible undertaking? No church in New York would start out alone upon the work of evangelizing the

whole of the ten down-town wards. The enterprise is so vast that no one is willing to attempt it alone. But many a church would gladly undertake the care of a district a quarter of a mile square—a sixteenth of a square mile—in the hope of doing something to enlighten its darkness. It is indeed probable that some of the churches would fail to take up the work thus assigned to them; but many of them would faithfully perform it; and the reports of successful workers would spur the negligent to their tasks.

What serious obstacle, I ask, is in the way of such a parceling out of the neglected districts of the cities among the churches? These churches could not agree upon one form of government or one statement of doctrine, much less could they unite in one ritual of worship or one method of work; but they could certainly agree to divide up the destitute territory—the missionary ground—of the cities among them, and thus provide for the care of the whole of it. And what right, I ask again, have these churches to neglect to make such a division of this work among themselves? How can they justify or excuse themselves for leaving vast tracts of these great cities almost wholly destitute of religious influences? They are verily guilty in that they have suffered these heathenish conditions to exist in these cities. And it is evident that the evangelization of these districts will require the united efforts of all who profess and call themselves Christians. It cannot be done by desultory, happy-go-lucky methods. There must be some unity of purpose, or no progress will be made. And while the obstacles in the way of any formal union of the churches are, as we have seen, insuperable, and while even those combinations for evangelistic purposes sometimes may seem of doubtful utility, this measure of co-operation, which proposes only that the churches of every community come together statedly for consultation respecting the work to be done in their respective fields, that they inform themselves and the public fully concerning this work, and that they divide up the missionary ground among them, so as to put the responsibility for the care of every part of it upon some one organization—this, it seems to me, is entirely simple and practicable; I can see no reason why it should not be set in operation at once in every city and town in this country.

If these stated conferences were established, other results might follow. It would be possible to come to an understanding about the summer work, so that the common scandal of the desertion

of the cities by the pastors in the months of July and August should be quieted. It is true that many of the well-to-do people of the cities are absent during these months; that the congregations at that season are apt to be thin, and that therefore it is the best time for the pastor to take his annual rest; but it is also true that the poor are always with us in the cities all summer long; that there is more sickness and mortality, especially among children, then than in any other part of the year, and that the need of pastoral care and sympathy is no less then than during other seasons. Some arrangement ought therefore to be made among the pastors, whereby a sufficient force should be in active service through the vacation season; and the people of each congregation should know to whom they might go for counsel and comfort in affliction. An arrangement of this nature could easily be made if the churches were statedly meeting for consultation about their work.

Doubtless such a conference of the churches would be tempted to undertake many things, but its wisdom would be demonstrated in attempting few things, and only those things in which there was entire agreement. The devices of power by which wills are arrayed against wills, and minorities are coerced by majorities, could never be employed in this assemblage; its usefulness would depend on the unanimity of its operations.

I was asked to speak on the necessity of co-operation in Christian work, but I could not enforce the necessity of co-operation without showing what I mean by co-operation; and the presentation of this simple plan has involved, at every step, an exhibition of the reasons which prove its necessity.

It is necessary for the churches of Christ in every community to confer together with respect to the work committed to them, because it is their common work, and no church has a right to make all its plans and carry on its enterprises without consultation with its partners and associates in the work.

It is necessary to consult, after this manner, in order to avoid collision and confusion.

It is necessary in order to secure the complete occupation of the field, and the reclamation of the neglected portions.

It is necessary because it is necessary for Christians to act like reasonable beings, and this lack of counsel and concert is a symptom of insanity.

There are, however, one or two special considerations which emphasize this necessity, to only one of which I will refer in closing.

The need of keeping the working classes within the reach, and the healing and comforting touch of the church is beginning to be urgent. There is no radical cure for our social disorders, and our industrial conflicts, but Christianity—the Christian gospel, the Christian law, the Christian life that incarnates both law and gospel. The masters need it as much as the men; both classes must take Christ's yoke and learn of him.

We are still able to reach the masters, but the men have been slipping away from us. This has been disputed; but the affirmations of the fact on this platform have been so strong that I need not spend any time in enforcing it. The fact that great numbers of these people are somewhat disaffected toward the churches is not to be denied, and this disaffection extends to the existing industrial régime, and even to the government of the country. Many of the working people think that the machinery of church and state is in the hands of the rich; that the working classes are being exploited for the benefit of those above them. Most of this discontent exists in a mild form as yet; but here and there the poison in the blood breaks out in an abscess, which you call anarchy. The anarchistic temper is only an exacerbation of a state of mind which in large classes may be said to be epidemic. Few of our people are tainted with theoretical anarchy, but it is the measure of discontent prevalent among them that makes anarchy possible.

Now, doubtless, the heroic treatment of overt anarchy is the right treatment. The law can do no other than throttle the man who conspires to throttle the law. But the conditions out of which anarchy springs will never be cured by the hangman; and your hangings, as you will find, are terribly dangerous operations, unless there goes along with them a vigilant, resolute, thorough-going, self-denying effort to get at the bottom of this social discontent, and cure it. The complaints of the workingmen are often unreasonable; even so, they must be quieted with reason and love, not with sneers or objurgations. They are not wholly unreasonable. The workingman, as Mr. Depew has said, has a grievance, and it behooves all men of good-will to try to understand it, and to help him remove it. This is the burden that is laid on the Christian

church to-day. If there is any more pressing duty, I do not know where to look for it. The church of Christ must put itself into sympathetic and helpful relations with the toiling classes. With the wealth it has accumulated, the culture it has gathered, the social prestige it has won, it must go out after these people, and make common cause with them, bearing their burdens with them, and so fulfilling the law of Christ.

The work that it is called to do for them must also be very largely institutional work—permanent work, no mere evangelistic raids through their territory. Into the neighborhoods where the working people live, the churches of Christ must go and stay. Of the sin of abandoning these neighborhoods they must first repent; then they must go back and do works meet for repentance. From every rich church in every great city, a colony of its elect disciples —wealthy, cultivated, earnest men, with their families—ought to go forth and plant itself in one of the neglected districts, building there, not a mission but a church, a Christian church, where the rich and the poor should worship together, owning the Lord, who is the maker of them all. This church should be the spiritual home of the people who establish it; they should have no other church relationship; their Sundays and many of their evenings should be spent in its service; it should be not only a preaching-place on Sundays, but the shelter of industrial schools for boys and girls on week days, and the meeting-place of clubs for workingmen, and guilds for workingwomen; it should become the center of all gracious and beautiful ministries for all that region. Through this dear and sacred fellowship these people of wealth and intelligence could put themselves in closest relation with the life about them ; they could win the confidence of the toiling classes, and help them in bearing their burdens and solving their problems.

But this is work that cannot be done by hired men, neither by city missionaries, nor by theological students, nor by any other serviceable stipendiaries. It calls not merely nor mainly for your money, it calls for you. An incarnate Christianity is the only kind of Christianity that will convert these multitudes. What they want most is not chapels nor instructors, but friends. It is the helpful hand, and the appealing eye, and the cheery voice, and the gracious presence in their assemblies and in their homes, that will win their trust; these, and these alone, will convince them that the Christ of

Bethlehem and Nazareth was not a myth, but a Son of God and Saviour of men.

To do this work, as every man can see, there must needs be consultation and co-operation; the neglected districts must be subdivided, and each church must have a field of its own into which it can send its own colony of consecrated laborers, for which it shall be held responsible, and in which it shall be protected, by an organized and vigorous public opinion, from sectarian invasion and competition. If this Conference shall secure in all the cities of the land this measure of co-operation, its labor will not be in vain.

CHAIRMAN: I now have the great pleasure of introducing to the Conference the Rev. George E. Post, of Syria, who has done grand service in connection with the American Mission there, and who has a word of help, instruction and warning to us, in reference to the divisions of Christian work in that section of the world.

NECESSITY OF CO-OPERATION IN CHRISTIAN WORK.

ADDRESS BY REV. GEORGE E. POST, M. D., OF BEIROUT.

The past of the Christian church has been an age of creeds; the present is an age of deeds. In the past we have been discovering what we were to believe concerning God. In the future, we are to find what duty God requires of man. The past has been an age of strife; the future is to be an age of Christian life.

Two years ago I was standing on the top of a naked rock on the western shores of Asia. In front of me lay the remnant of an ancient port. To the left was a valley, with a few ruins of the far-distant past. On a hillside to the west was a vaulted chamber, said to have been the prison of the Apostle Paul. On the crest of a range of rocks overlooking this hill on which I stood, was a battlemented wall, and in the distance a stream crossing to and fro and emptying into another stream, and on the right a mass of broken stones, where once was the great Temple of Diana of the Ephesians—the Seventh Wonder of the world.

This feverish plain, these naked rocks, these few scattered stones, were all that remained of this Seventh Wonder of the world and the first of the seven churches of the Apocalypse. I then went through that country, and I found that everywhere the ancient Christian churches were represented by stone-heaps, mounds covered with grass, ancient tombs. I went on to Antioch, where Christians were first called by that holy name. I went on to Bethlehem, where Christ was born; to Nazareth, where he lived; to Jerusalem, where he suffered and died; and to the Mount of Olives, from which he ascended into heaven. I found all these countries, where the fathers of the Christian faith lived, where the Scriptures were given and from which the Word of Life spread out

to all the world, under the heel of an enemy and an alien—a false prophet. I found the Christians scattered, divided, powerless.

Can you believe, brethren, that such is the state of those lands that were once the home and the origin of Christianity? And can you believe that this may be the state of the lands that are now the domain of Christendom? For 1300 years these countries have been under the power of Islam, and they will remain under the power of Islam until Christians join together and fight, shoulder to shoulder, in the cause of Christ.

When Christians first received the word of Christ, they commenced to divide. There were Paulists, there were Apollosites, there were Cephasites, and there were Christians; there were Manichæans and Sabellians and Nestorians and Armenians and Copts and Maronites and Greeks and Jacobites. What a catalogue for us! And yet our catalogue is longer still. [Laughter.]

Those people fought in the theaters and they fought in the churches, and they assembled, as Gregory said, "like cranes and geese," in their councils, and anathematized each other. They separated from each other; and then came the storm and the flood; then came blood and fire and ruin, and the church of Christ went down in the dust.

What has been in the past may be in the future. The Christian church, after this, narrowed within its borders in the barbarian kingdoms of Europe, bereft of Northern Africa, bereft of Western Asia, bereft of Eastern Europe—of all its classical cities and all its centers of power—passed a thousand years in penitence and sorrow and obscurity before it arose again to enter upon the conquest of the world; and then the spirit of God came and reformed the church in Europe, and we set out once more for the world's conquest. What did we then do? We began again to divide, to anathematize, to separate, to fight one another, to unchurch each other, and in this guise we are going forth to the conquest of the world again.

We have heard much of what is taking place in our West, in our South, in the desolate places of our great cities; but I come here to plead the cause of the world lying in darkness. I come to tell you, Christian brethren, that your deeds here, of which you take the responsibility, are reacting in our mission fields. I come to plead the cause of a Mohammedan, who has been brought by persevering labor, by prayer, by instruction of the missionaries, to a knowl-

edge of the truth as it is in Christ; and who has been brought, at the peril of his life, to confess the name of his Saviour; and who has stood up in our church in Beirout and taken upon himself the vows of Christ. He knows what that means. He knows that it means to him death, or expulsion from his home, and hiding in some place of obscurity in a distant land.

What is the result of that man's conversion? There comes an emissary from a Christian church in America and tells him, "Sir, you have joined the church of Christ, as you think, but that is not the church of Christ. Come to me and I will confirm you and introduce you into the church of Christ." And there comes another emissary from another Christian church in this country and tells him, "Sir, you have not been baptized. Come and I will immerse you under the water, and you will then become a Christian." And there comes another emissary from a Christian church and tells him, "Sir, the Christian church is not an outward organization. You must come out of the church that you have joined and live a separate life." You think this is a thing of romance—a thing of fancy. I am telling you an actual fact, brethren. I am telling you things as they are, not things as I imagine them.

My Christian brethren, this is something that reflects the sentiment of the churches at home. This is a thing inflicted upon us by your divisions here. We stand on the picket-line, we stand at the front, we stand at the post of danger, we are lifting up the banner of the cross in the face of an uncivilized and unbelieving world, and we have succeeded in convincing them that Christ is the Saviour, and that under that banner they must fight. Then there come emissaries from you who tell them that it is all wrong, and that they must begin all over again.

Dear Christian brethren, will you suffer this thing to go on? [Cries of "No, no."] Will you suffer your Christian missionaries at the front to be paralyzed, to have their voices made silent, to have their testimonies made ineffective, by reason of your divisions? Dare you do it in the face of almighty God and in the face of a dying world?

I have heard something said about the possibilities of Christian co-operation; and I agree with the last speaker in regard to the advantage of parceling out a given district and dividing it among the churches. But, Christian brethren, I go further than that. I believe that there are circumstances under which we must

relinquish our denominational affinities, and our denominational education, and join heart and hand with other Christians, in a church which shall be the church of Christ in no distinctive denominational form. [Applause.] I do not speak as the result of inexperience, but I speak having in my mind a model of such a church, which we have in the city of Beirout, where I live.

Sixty years ago, when your pioneer missionaries went to that land they found a small community of people, consisting of Englishmen, Germans, Swiss and Americans. They desired to give them the ordinances of religion. I may say by way of preface, that the mission was one formed by the American Board, which was at that time a union organization between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists; but from the beginning those brethren were inspired to establish a union church. They determined that they would give a model, if possible, to the future converts. There were Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians of both schools, then existing, and Congregationalists. There were also, at a later period, Plymouth Brethren and Friends. They organized that Anglo-American Union congregation, and it has lasted sixty years. At the time of our Civil War, when the sentiments of the English were somewhat hostile throughout the world to Americans—when the sentiments of Americans were divided, that church stood the shock of that war, and the division of public and private sentiment without for a moment faltering in its career. [Applause.] There it stands to-day, and, please God, it will stand there to the end of time.

There have come there some members of the Church of England, who cannot join in this work, and they have set up a little independent service there, and have invited the Episcopalians to separate from the other body and worship with them. A very few of them go off into a little room apart, and worship on the Lord's day. But, thank God, the great majority of the Church of England, residents in Beirout join heart and hand, and give of their means, time and influence to the support of this institution.

We have another specimen of union there. We have a hospital which was established by the Knights of St. John, that noble order of which the president is Prince Albrecht, and among the leading members of which are the Emperor of Germany and his son, and all the princes and nobles of that land that are members of the national church of Germany. They have put that hospital in the charge of

the professors of the Syrian Protestant College, and there we join heart and hand together, worshiping together with one impulse and with one love.

Now, Christian brethren, I have pledged myself not to prolong this meeting by prolonging my remarks beyond the time allotted to me. But I am going to say to you before we part, that I implore you in the name of Christian common sense—I implore you in the name of that mystic union which I know binds heart to heart, and which I see reflected from the eyes of all now in this audience—in the name of that Christ who said, "Let them be one even as we are one"—in the name of our great country, which we who have been forcibly separated from it, love more than you do, and in which we take more pride than you can—in the name of the heathen world lying in wickedness, bleeding from a thousand wounds, in the name of all that is good and precious, rise up and carry to your homes the impulses of this meeting. Let it not be merely a place where we shall have talked of union, but where you will have made the solemn resolve to bring about union—that in this matter you will go hand in hand, as fellow-Christians, that you will go to your conventions, to your conferences, to your presbyteries, and to your associations, and that you will cause the bigots and fanatics to stand aside, in order that this great work may be accomplished. [Prolonged applause.]

GENERAL DISCUSSION.

DR. STRONG: I hold in my hand a letter from Professor George P. Fisher, of Yale Theological Seminary, who had expected to be present, at the invitation of this Conference, to say a few words. I will read his letter:

"NEW HAVEN, CONN., December 3, 1887.

"Mr. WILLIAM E. DODGE, *President of the Evangelical Alliance for the U. S.*

"A large committee, of which I am the chairman, was appointed, in 1886, by the National Congregational Council of the United States, to take measures for the promotion of inter-denominational comity. It was the judgment of the National Council that a method should be found, 'whereby the forces of Christ's kingdom should not only forbid all friction with each other, but should be harmoniously united in an aggressive work against the kingdom of this world.' Our

committee were instructed to confer with the general ecclesiastical organizations of all other churches of the evangelical faith, in order to secure this result, and 'to save the needless expenditure of Christian force,' in reference especially to new territory that 'shall hereafter be occupied.' We were, also, to consult with other ecclesiastical bodies with a view to the holding of an inter-denominational congress, for the attainment of the desired end.

"In attending to the business committed to us, myself and my associates have been struck with the fact that in the Evangelical Alliance, we have already an 'inter-denominational congress,' one function of which is the promotion, by judicious means, of just that sympathy and concurrence of action which the national Congregational Council was anxious to procure. Hence, I have been authorized to communicate to you, and through you to the Alliance, the proceeding of the Council, as above related, and to ask that such action may be taken and such recommendations made by the Alliance as will tend to put a stop to that unseemly and hurtful competition and rivalship of different denominations in the propagation of the gospel in this country and abroad, which is to some extent a scandal in the eyes of the world, and an obstacle to the spread of the faith which we hold in common.

"I am, Very Respectfully Yours,

"GEORGE P. FISHER."

MR. DODGE: I am glad to know that just this spirit which comes to us from the great Congregational body is filling the hearts of the best men in all the various divisions of the church of Christ in this country.

I am now going to introduce to you one whom you all know, one who perhaps by his pen and his work, for years (and certainly by his long devotion to the Evangelical Alliance, so that he is almost its father) has done more than any other man in the country to acquaint Christian men with each other. That man is

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REV. PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D., OF NEW YORK.

Foreign immigration was pointed out as one of our chief perils, and some speakers have taken a pessimistic view. I am an optimist on the ground of God's presence in history and Christ's promise to be with his church all days even to the end of the world. The Evil One is mighty, but God is almighty and over-rules the wrath of his enemies. Foreign immigration from the different nationalities and churches of *Europe* may for a while retard, but cannot arrest, and will ultimately benefit, our civilization and Christianity by widening it and infusing into it the best elements of the Old World

and of past ages. If anywhere on this globe there is room for developing a cosmopolitan nationality and the highest type of Christian civilization, it is on the virgin soil of North America. Here will be written the last, and I hope the best, chapters in the history of the human race. "Westward the star of empire takes its way." This line of the Irish philosopher expresses a law of history which follows the sun, rising in the east and setting in the west.

The people of this republic have a healthy and vigorous organism, with a good stomach, a clear head and a warm heart, fully able to digest and assimilate, to educate and evangelize, all the foreigners of the Caucasian race that seek a new and better home under the protection of our laws. The past is secure; we need have no fear for the future.

But in this great work we need the united efforts of all our churches and Christian agencies. We cannot spare a single denomination. There is work enough for all, and we should wish them *all* God's blessing in every effort to promote learning, virtue and piety. Only let friendly co-operation be substituted for selfish competition and collision. It is no business of this Alliance to attack any Christian church or sect, but to rally the best elements of all for a closer union and co-operation in the kingdom of their common Lord and Master. Its motto is not war, but peace; not separation, but union on the basis of freedom. There is a time for separation, and there is a time for reunion. The time for separation is passing away, the time for reunion is coming on. The reunion of Christendom, the realization of the promise of "one flock" (not "fold") and "one Shepherd," will be one of the chief problems of the rising generation.

Conferences like these, which bring Christians of different creeds face to face in fraternal consultation, are a powerful agency in promoting that great end. They are a means of grace, and have a happy effect upon the outside world. In union is strength.

Christian union looks to co-operation in active work and is promoted by it. The Evangelical Alliance has nothing to do with churches, but by bringing individual Christians closer together, it acts upon the denominations to which they belong. The time has come when it ought to take a step further, and suggest to them the desirableness of mutual official recognition. Co-operation must be made practical by denominational action. The various societies

of domestic and foreign missions should come to an agreement by which injurious rivalry and collision may be prevented. Since the occupation of Rome by the United Kingdom of Italy, there have been organized about a dozen Protestant congregations, which represent as many different denominations, and show to the Italian mind the confusing spectacle of a divided Protestantism. The same is the case on the fields of heathen missions. The missionaries see and feel this difficulty, and tell us that the root of the evil is *at home*. Each denomination is anxious to propagate itself, rather than the kingdom of Christ.

Let us look at this matter seriously, and endeavor to remedy the evil. Let this Alliance devise ways and means to induce the missionary societies at home to present to our foreign population, and to the heathen, our evangelical Christianity as a unit in spirit and in aim. The result will be a multiplication of converts, a speedier overthrow of idolatry and superstition, and a hastening of the triumph of the kingdom of our common Lord and Saviour throughout the world.

REMARKS BY REV. J. B. CLARK, D. D., OF NEW YORK.

SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I would not occupy even one half of one of these five minutes, except to offer a simple word of testimony, which I hope will be cheering. I speak, as it has been represented to you, for the American Home Missionary Society, which has been sixty years planting churches in the great West, and knows something about the value and necessity of these methods of co-operation, and has seen something of the friction and the waste of attempting any Christian work where they do not exist.

There is one law—the first law—of this Society, which, if it were adopted in good faith, and carried out in good faith by all similar bodies, would put an end forever to all sectarian strife on Home Missionary ground, and would economize, to the last cent, every dollar of Home Missionary funds. That law is this: never to plant a Congregational church on ground that is fairly occupied

by any other Christian denomination [Applause], and never to assist a church with missionary funds which has been planted in violation of that rule. This is the double law of the organization. It is perfectly well known to our field superintendents, and I am happy to say that it is being obeyed, to the best of their knowledge, to the letter, because they know that if it were disregarded, their places would be required of them at once. We, therefore, find no trouble with that law, so far as securing obedience to it is concerned; but how to secure a wise and just administration of the law in all cases, is not so easy. What is a fair occupation of ground? That is always a troublesome question. For instance, here may be a dead church occupying the ground—a church notoriously inoperative. It is enjoying a probation after death [Laughter], which is hopeless. It cannot supply the religious wants of the community, and the community knows it. It has life enough for just two things—life enough to object to being revived, and life enough to object to any successor which should attempt to come upon the ground and do its work effectively.

Then there may be a church that in its own way has life enough, but its own way is one that does not meet the wants of the community. Or, there may be a booming town, to which a railroad is about to come, and in which three churches are planted—a number too many for the present population, but not sufficient for the population which is expected. The difficulty in that case is, that the railroad may not come at all, but may go another way. Then the question is, Which of the churches is fittest to survive?

But, alas, there is another difficulty. It is when a church is filling every want, and the agent of some other church comes in and organizes a church of his denomination, the result being that there are in that community two weak churches depending upon missionary funds, where one strong and self-supporting church might exist.

We have found by experience that there is just one remedy for all these evils—one sufficient solution of all these difficulties. It is this: wherever the field agents of all these missionary boards which you represent, are willing to come together and join their hands in Christian fellowship and Christian service—wherever they are willing to put the kingdom of Christ above the interests of party or sect—where they are willing to unite on some simple terms of comity, or some simple business arrangement, by which

the people on the ground in each of these fields shall be allowed to determine for themselves the question what church they prefer, and all others keep "hands off" until that question is determined; and especially where the missionary boards at home shall stand behind their agents on the field, and wholly support them in that action, *there*, Mr. President, is love, there is harmony, and there is Christian co-operation; there are the best fruits of Christian co-operation, and there is economy of Christian forces—Christian men and Christian money.

The next speaker introduced was Rev. J. H. Broyson, D. D., of Huntsville, Ala.

REMARKS BY REV. J. H. BROYSON, D. D.

Mr. President and Brethren: The key-note of this Conference that has been assembled here, has been sounded by my respected brother from Michigan (Rev. Dr. Harris). It is the mediatorial prayer of that divine King who reigns in yonder realm of love. It is the unity of God's people. And with that key-note others have told us that the American nation has passed the front line and now stands in advance of all the nations of the earth. How signal the fact that while this is true, the church comes together unitedly to-day, with her forces joined, to lead forward the hosts in the great cause of our divine Master.

And now, as our President has said, the key-note is co-operation in the great work in which we are engaged. Whatever difficulties may lie in the way, they can be adjusted in detail. The issues that have been presented before us at this Conference are strong and to be feared, but a great military commander has well said "In the face of the enemy combine your forces." So let the Christian hearts of the country be combined to-day in the great cause that is now before us.

The Spirit of unity of that religion which we represent to-day, is the third person of the adorable Trinity—the Holy Spirit. That Spirit gives unity to every heart, gives strength to every heart, gives power to every heart, and it will bring God's people into one glorious unity.

What is the indirect cause of which this great assembly here is the

representative to-day? My brother from the foreign field has given it to us. It is the foreign missionary force standing on the picket-line on every shore, combined in the name of our divine Master, and its reflex influence has come to the English-speaking people, that are the great missionary element of the nineteenth century. [Applause.] That brings us together here. And we have now had a despatch from across the ocean, from our brethren, the English people, showing that our hands and our hearts are one. Let the English-speaking people arise in their strength, in the name of our divine Lord, and push this work onward, through all lands, to the ends of the earth. May the Lord hasten it in his time.

REMARKS BY MR. WM. B. BOERUM, OF BROOKLYN.

Mr. President and Gentlemen: This grand spectacle of brethren from all parts of this Union—brethren among the laity as well as the ministry—gathered together here at the capital of the nation, is, as I take it, to produce the spirit of Christ among the people.

As to co-operation, of which so much has been justly said, the true co-operation that is to be desired above all things is union in Christian spirit. We may multiply denominations if we please, and instead of eighty or a hundred, have eight hundred or a thousand, if the spirit of Christ pervade them all. That is the important thing, that the spirit of Christ among all men should be working for the salvation of souls. A distinguished Christian gentleman made this remark on this subject: "I would as soon expect every family in this land to keep house as I keep house, as to expect every church and every denomination to pursue the same methods in carrying on Christian work." But I would have the church produce the spirit of Christ in the hearts of all their people, so that there might be good neighborhoods, so there might be good citizens, so that there might be good merchants, good manufacturers, good working people—so that all the people might possess this spirit.

I listened a short time ago to a sermon from a gentleman who has spoken here this morning, the sermon being from these words: "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." When Christ

said those words to his disciples he said in substance, "Follow me and I will give you influence over men, I will give you an influence over evil-minded men, I will give you an influence for good over the hearts and minds of all men, to turn them from evil ways to good ways." That is what the Saviour said at the very beginning of his ministry, in saying to his disciples, "Follow me"

Now, what is it to follow Christ? To have great patience with one another, kindly consideration for one another, love of each other and a kindly interest in each other's welfare. This will settle all the difficult questions of life.

I have seen this spirit brought to bear in mercantile associations, and business organizations, where there were some discordant elements. Some Christian-hearted man, talking to his fellows, would say, "Let us come together, and, as intelligent Christian men, adjust our affairs so that there may not be this discordant element, but that we may work together to produce that which we are all seeking; that is, the advancement of our business interests and a greater power for doing good."

This will settle all labor questions. On my way here from New York, a merchant said to me on the train, "I am determined by the help of God to conduct my business upon purely Christian principles." And he said, "My people come to me and say to me, 'I come to you for counsel and advice because you are a Christian man;'" and he said to them, "Did I ever mention the subject of Christianity to you?" "No," was the reply, "but you act, and your actions speak louder than words." So, brethren, remember that our Saviour, when on this earth, astonished the people more by the gracious words he spoke, than even by his acts. The people marveled at them; they had been accustomed to harsh words. It is this soft answer, produced by Christianity, which turns away wrath, and overcomes the words that stir up anger. We want more and more of this practical Christian life. We want it in business, and in all our ways. I thank you, brethren, for listening to a plain layman, who cannot speak to you with eloquence, as other gentlemen have done, but who speaks with a heart full of love and with an earnest desire to do all in his power to help produce this spirit of Christ among men.

MR DODGE: I cannot close this meeting without asking a friend whom we have fortunately with us, to say a single word, so that he may be known to our American friends who are present. The

Rev. Mr. Johnson, of England, whom I now have the pleasure of introducing to you, is here as the representative of the great Pan-Missionary Conference, which is to be held in London next year. He represents, I think, nearly all the foreign missionary associations of all the various churches of England. He knows what co-operation means; and a single word of cheer from him, and an introduction to you, will I know be grateful to the Conference.

REMARKS BY REV. JAMES JOHNSON.

I would not presume, brethren, to stand before this great audience in my own name. I come before you as the formally designated representative of forty-eight foreign missionary societies which exist in England. Alas, that there should be so many, but thank God that they should be one, as they now are, in proposing to have a conference for a new start—as we hope, a new era—in missions, in the coming century—I mean the century which we now begin.

I have come, brethren, as a representative of societies that are now raising among themselves upwards of a million of pounds sterling, for the spread of the gospel of God almost exclusively among the heathen; and they send me with this message to you, our brethren in America, requesting you to send over representatives, first, of your foreign missionary societies, and secondly, representative men belonging to your different churches, appointed in what way you will, that they may come and sit with us, and, as workers together in this great enterprise, be the means of starting afresh in the grand work given to the church of God by her divine Head—"Go ye into all the world."

I come here to speak of co-operation. We have begun by co-operation in this arrangement among ourselves, but we want the grand Anglo-Saxon race, which God has raised up for some great purpose [Applause], to be united with us in this work; we want to go heart and hand together in it. I ask you, brethren, will America take the hand of Old England to begin this work? [Applause.] It was a saying of Dr. Duff, that grand old missionary whom some here knew well, that the church that ceased to be evangelistic (by which he meant evangelistic to the heathen), will

soon cease to be evangelical. I go a little further than that. I say that the grand way of uniting the churches of God is by uniting them in foreign mission work.

The old despots in Europe teach us a lesson in this matter. How do they keep the peace in their own borders? When they find the people beginning to unite—a course which might result in the overthrow of the despots, they get up a foreign war. France and Russia know that policy well. That is the grand danger to the peace of Europe—that despots are obliged to keep the attention of their people engaged in foreign enterprises or war, in order that they may keep peace at home. I say that that is the devil's policy.

Now let the churches of Christ represented by the grand Anglo-Saxon race—and I would say the Saxon race, for the grand old Emperor of Germany is a noble man [Applause]—let this race rise up to the importance of this great enterprise, and by uniting in carrying on foreign mission work we shall be recognizing the importance of unity at home.

I will not trespass, however, upon your time to say a word that seems to be in any way connected with war. I would take higher ground. I believe the grand policy of foreign missions is truly Christian in this way: it carries us out of ourselves. I take for an illustration the feast. "When thou makest a feast, call not thy neighbors and the rich ones who are able to invite thee in turn, but go into the highways and invite the lame and the halt." These poor heathen cannot recompense thee, but it will recompense thee to do good. We have the blessed assurance that "thou shall be recompensed" and that is enough.

RECEPTION AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

Immediately after the morning session, the members of the Conference, together with the Washington branch of the Alliance, were given a reception by President and Mrs. Cleveland.

The party having taken up a position in the East room, the President and his wife entered, when the officers of the Conference were at once formally presented by Colonel Wilson, Marshal of the District of Columbia.

Mr. Wm. E. Dodge, as President of the Evangelical Alliance, then addressed the President as follows :

On behalf of the delegates of the Christian Convention now in session in this city, I want to say to you, Mr. President, how greatly we value the privilege of paying our respects to you. And I am sure you will forgive me for saying that it is a great additional pleasure to us to have the rare privilege of meeting your chosen partner in this historic home, who has so wonderfully endeared herself to all the people of the land, and has so rapidly won their loyal love and respect. [Applause.] We represent all shades of religious opinion, we represent all sections of the country, and we are met here, not to emphasize our differences, but to find points on which we can agree, and to pledge ourselves to higher and more loyal service to the Master we all serve and to the country we all love.

We believe that the time has come in this country for an applied Christianity, and that the simple teachings and the example of our Lord can act as a solvent of all social and economic difficulties, and can bring into close touch and sympathy all classes of people. We know this will tend to elevate this country, and to bring it back to the high American ideas which have been the basis of its prosperity and growth. In all this we are sure you heartily sympathize with us.

REPLY OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: It gives me great pleasure to greet so large a delegation from the Evangelical Alliance of the United States. The purposes of this Alliance, as I understand them, are to apply the teachings of the Christian life to the problems and to the exigencies of our social and political life. This movement cannot fail to be one of the greatest importance. All must admit that the reception of the teachings of Christianity results in the purest patriotism, in the most devoted and scrupulous adherence to public trusts, and in the best type of citizenship. [Applause.]

Those who manage the affairs of government are by this Alliance reminded that the law of God demands of them that they should

be courageously true to the interest of the people, and that the Ruler of the universe will require of them a strict account of their stewardship. [Applause.]

The people, too, are thus reminded that their best interests and their happiness and welfare are best subserved and promoted by a conscientious regard of the rights and interests of their common brotherhood.

I am especially pleased that your movement and endeavor is not cramped or limited by denominational lines [Applause]; that your credentials are found in a broad and generous Christian fellowship. In your noble mission it is necessary, if you would seek to teach the people toleration, that you yourselves should be tolerant; if you would teach them liberality for the opinions of each other, you yourselves must be liberal.. [Applause.] If you would teach them unselfish patriotism, you yourselves must be unselfish and patriotic. [Applause.]

In this noble endeavor of yours, if undertaken in a broad and generous spirit, you must arrest the attention and the respectful consideration of your fellow-citizens, and teach the people that a government for the people must depend for its success on the morality, the justice and the interest of the people. [Applause.]

With true benevolence and with patriotic love, it must be that your endeavor will go far to the enlightenment and the improvement of our people, and to aid in the greatness of the destiny of our beloved land. [Applause.]

The remaining members of the party were then severally presented to the President and his wife, both of whom cordially shook hands with each.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9.

The devotional services, with which the session was opened, were conducted by Rev. Henry J. Van Dyke, D. D., of New York.

Mr. Dodge: I have great pleasure in introducing to the Conference as the chairman for this session, Hon. J. W. Foster, who has been the honored representative of this country in so many of the courts of Europe, and has always been a friend of everything that was good in our country.

REMARKS BY HON. J. W. FOSTER.

On taking the chair Mr. Foster said:

Dear friends, it seems a work of supererogation on my part, a stranger to most of you, to introduce to this audience one who is so well known to you as the gentleman who is first to address us this afternoon. I think you will agree with me that one of the most pleasant incidents of this Conference has been that it has afforded us an opportunity to see the face and hear the voice of him whose pen, before we came together, was so familiar to us. [Applause.] I feel that no living man has done more to awaken the Protestant church to a higher loyalty to our country and to our Lord and Master, than Dr. Josiah Strong, who will now read a paper on "Methods of Co-operation in Christian Work." [Applause.]

METHODS OF CO-OPERATION IN CHRISTIAN WORK.

REV. JOSIAH STRONG, D. D., GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

We have listened to presentations of the perils threatening our Christian civilization, which are well-fitted to sober our habitual American optimism. To show that there is no occasion for panic and no excuse for pessimism, we have made an inventory of the vast Christian resources of our country. We have had the fact strongly emphasized that, in order to utilize these resources in full, to meet the rising tide of perils, there must be a better understanding, a much larger measure of co-operation among denominations and local churches. We now come logically to the consideration of *Practical Methods of Co-operation in Christian Work.*

The higher the form of life, the more complex is its organization, and the more perfect is the co-operation among its several organs. The same is true of civilization. The application of steam and electricity has given a mighty impetus to civilization because they created vast possibilities of organization and co-operation. And the progress of modern material civilization has been made chiefly by seizing upon these possibilities. These two correlative principles have been applied to commerce, to business, to transportation, to manufactures, to almost every form of industry; and thus the forces which are developing our material civilization have been multiplied many fold. But Protestant Christianity has not, as yet, laid hold of these two great principles which characterize the civilization of the nineteenth century. So far as organization and co-operation are concerned, Protestant Christianity is nearly a hundred years behind the age. It is still living in the eighteenth century.

There must be preserved a certain parity of growth between the

material on the one hand, and the moral and spiritual on the other. So far as the former outstrips the latter, our civilization becomes materialistic, our prosperity becomes our peril. And this is the great peril which threatens our Christian civilization to-day. Its lower elements have outgrown the higher; hence a demoralizing, animalizing tendency. If Christianity is to control our future development, to overmaster the material and make our lusty physical life the servant of the intellectual and moral, it must avail itself of these two great principles which have given such a marvelous impetus to our material civilization.

And exactly this, the inauguration of intelligent and comprehensive co-operation in aggressive Christian work is the inspiration of this new movement of the Alliance. It seeks nothing for itself; but being, in the judgment of many eminent men, the medium through which this desired co-operation can be most fitly and hopefully sought, it has accepted this work as a solemn duty, providentially laid upon it.

While studying the situation we consulted many wise men, and when our plans were sufficiently matured, we submitted them in outline to leading clergymen and laymen of all evangelical denominations. The endorsement which they received was so unanimous and hearty that we venture to offer them, by way of suggestion, to the Christian public.

It is proposed to invite the ministers and active laymen of each community to come together and form local alliances; and through this point of contact between the members of all evangelical denominations, can be secured, it is believed,

I. Co-operation in the study of sociological and industrial problems and in the application of Christian principles to their solution,

II. Co-operation in reaching our entire population with the gospel, and

III. The co-operation of the Christian millions of the land for the accomplishment of needed reforms, and for the defense of cherished American institutions. Let us consider

I. Co-operation in the study of sociological and industrial problems, and in the application of the principles of the gospel to their solution.

The conflict, not between capital and labor—each of which is the complement of the other, and which are as necessary to each other

as are the two wings of a bird—but the conflict between capitalists and laborers, shows that our industrial system has not been informed by Christian principles. The fact of estrangement between the well-to-do and the ill-to-do, the indifference and exclusiveness of the one class and the discontent and even bitterness of the other, together with the sefishness of both, are proof that the principles of the gospel have not yet permeated our social system. Is not the world waiting and suffering for the application to its every-day affairs of that gospel which was to bring "peace *on earth*" as well as peace between heaven and earth?

At Saratoga, a year and a half ago, President Seelye called attention to the fact that some great focal idea controls the thinking of various ages; that for the first three centuries of the Christian era that idea was God; that during the fourth and fifth centuries that idea was man; that next came, logically, the doctrine of union between God and man, or the doctrine of salvation; that next came, naturally, the doctrine of human brotherhood, the relations of man to man, and that this has been the growing question since the Reformation.

As each of these doctrines grows out of the preceding by logical sequence, which was observed by President Seelye, it is evident that the next doctrine to be matured is that of man in his relations to his fellow. And as Christ's teachings contain the true doctrine of God, the true doctrine of man and of salvation, so also they contain the true doctrine of human brotherhood, of social relations; and the widespread discontent which so generally characterizes the artisan class of Christendom to-day is due to the fact that these teachings of Christ have not been thoroughly applied to men in their relations with each other. Has not the time come for such application? May it not be that we are just now entering upon a new era in the history of the church and of civilization, viz., the era of *applied Christianity?*

There is evidence that this nation has been commissioned of God to lead the way. The meeting on our shores of all kindreds and peoples and tongues tends to make ours a cosmopolitan civilization; and the fact that races which for centuries have inherited mutual antipathies are here commingling in their daily life, marks this as the land where first will take place a readjustment in the relations of man and man, based neither on the accident of birth nor on the incident of wealth, but rather on the broad basis of

human brotherhood and Christian fellowship. The many rule here as nowhere else. Public opinion expresses itself in law, and makes itself felt in the modification or transformation of existing institutions, much more quickly than in other lands, even in those which are popularly governed. Moreover, our artisan classes are the most intelligent in the world; and this fact is highly favorable to their intelligent co-operation in hastening a better day.

And not only does this people seem to be providentially chosen for this work, but the hour for undertaking it would seem to have come. According to the logic of the ages, it is the next thing in order. Our civilization has developed to a stage where it has become not only possible but necessary. The natural order of growth is, first, that which is physical, then that which is spiritual. It was first necessary to conquer the continent, to lay material foundations for a great civilization, to develop our political institutions, and to settle the great questions growing out of them. All this has been substantially accomplished, and now the problems of the hour, pressing upon every thoughtful mind, are these very questions. Nor will these sociological problems cease to be paramount until correctly solved, and the true solution will be found only by applying the teachings of Christ.

It is suggested, therefore, that the leading Christian men of each community come together statedly, not to speculate, not to develop new theories of society, but to study the problems of their own town, to find what are the real hindrances to its moral and spiritual progress, and devise practical means for their removal. Let them study the work and become inspired with the spirit of such men as Oberlin and Chalmers. Let them acquaint themselves with methods which in various instances have proved successful in reaching and elevating the masses. And whenever their experience throws new light on methods of dealing with pauperism, or preventing crime, or evangelizing city slums or neglected rural districts, when progress is made in adjusting the relations between employer and employed on Christian principles, let the national Alliance have the light, and it will reflect it to all its branches. Thus through co-operation, these branches will stimulate one another, and each will profit by the experience of all.

Local alliances can render important service by preparing reading-matter of the right sort and scattering it widely among workingmen. The artisan classes are now largely left a prey to chimerical

reformers, social quacks and political charlatans, the results of whose teachings are deeper discontent and stronger class antipathies; popular lecture courses might be provided for workingmen, acquainting them with the fundamental principles of political economy and such historical facts as bear upon living questions.

When state and county and local alliances have been formed throughout the land, their regular meetings, together with great national conferences like this, cannot fail powerfully to stimulate the study of such questions from a Christian point of view or to throw much light on methods by which the various branches of the church of Christ can best co-operate in applying his teachings to the entire life of every community. Thus co-operation through local alliances will afford a method of developing methods.

II. Again, through the local alliance all evangelical Christians can co-operate in reaching the entire population with the gospel.

There are multitudes in our churches to-day who, so far as any aggressive Christian work is concerned, undertake nothing in particular, and succeed in doing it. This inactivity, however, is not always due to indifference. Not a few are interested and would gladly serve, but know not what or how to do. They are like the idlers of the market-place, spoken of in the parable. It does not appear that they were lazy or indifferent; but in answer to the question, "Why stand ye here all the day idle?" they replied, "Because no man hath hired us." Most people lack initiative. Whether in mechanical industries, or in commerce or art or war or government, it is the few who plan and the many who execute, the few who lead and the many who are led; and as long as human nature remains what it is, this must be true in Christian work as elsewhere. Our church members lack leadership. If work were apportioned and responsibility individualized, it would be accepted. There is abundant latent power in our churches to reach the non-church going population. Let the local alliances organize this power, and make it active to that end. The method of organization for such work is given in detail in a pamphlet which the Alliance will gladly furnish on application. It describes the methods successfully employed in Oswego, N. Y., and was written by Dr. Russell, of that city, who will follow me with an object-lesson, showing the happy working of the system in that community. The narrow limits of this paper permit only a condensed statement of these methods.

The local alliance, in undertaking systematic work in behalf of the non-church-going population, will need an accurate knowledge of facts. How many people are there in the town or township not effectively reached by the churches? How many attend church only occasionally or not at all? What is the church preference of non-attendants? How many children are there not in Sabbath-school? How many are Roman Catholics? How many families are needy? How many persons are out of employment? How many sick? The number of saloons, houses of ill-repute and gambling-places?

In order to gain this information and follow it up systematically, let the local alliance appoint from each church efficient laymen—one for every hundred members, more or less—who shall direct the work. Let the pastors and these laymen select from their own church ten visitors for each director. Most of them ought to be women. Divide the community into as many districts as there are directors or supervisors, equalizing the work as nearly as possible. Divide each district into ten sub-districts and assign a visitor to each. It will be found generally on this system that each sub-district averages about ten non-church-going families; though in our great cities the number will be larger. In such cases it would be well to increase the number of visitors. After the first canvass has shown just where the non-church-goers are and how many they are, the work will be more equitably divided by re-districting; after which each visitor should retain the same sub-district for the year, in order that they may each become really acquainted with the people upon whom they call.

Before the canvass is begun, all the visitors meet the directors and pastors for instructions and prayer. When brought thoroughly into the spirit of the movement, made familiar with their duties and supplied with uniform blanks, they enter upon their work; which will not be found so great but that each visitor can call on his entire charge monthly.

The canvass will reveal non-church-goers, not a few, who are members of churches elsewhere, but who have failed to transfer their membership and have become negligent of Christian duty. Some who rarely or never attend church will express a preference for some minister or denomination. Each pastor is informed of his own and charged with the duty of finding them. Those who express no preference are cordially invited, in the name of all the

churches, to attend the nearest place of worship. If the first invitation is declined, perhaps the twelfth will be accepted.

Each visitor reports to his director, and the board of directors tabulate their facts at regular meetings. This board serves as a sort of clearing-house between the co-operating churches.

The visitors have a monthly meeting, in which they exchange experiences with mutual profit. Public meetings, at stated times, sustain the interest of the churches in the work and ensure their sympathy.

The methods thus hurriedly outlined have proved entirely successful with a population as small as nine thousand, and with one as large as twenty-six thousand. It is believed they would prove equally applicable to a village, and, with certain modifications, to the largest city. In the latter case, it is suggested that there be formed a city alliance, which shall be auxiliary to the national organization. Let the city alliance form various branches in different districts of the city; and the churches of one district, containing a population of twenty-five or perhaps fifty thousand, can co-operate through their local alliance, and work their district as if it were a small city by itself. The relations of these various branches to each other and to the city alliance can be easily adjusted.

Nothing suggested is rigid. There is the greatest possible freedom of adaptation to the peculiar conditions of different communities. Experience will improve on methods, and free intercourse will soon afford each branch the advantages of the best.

We recognize obstacles. There are difficulties to be overcome. But then, duty is often difficult; it is never impracticable. Such co-operation as has been sketched may require more grace than is possessed by some brother, but not more than he can get. While he is awaiting a fuller supply he will perhaps offer some objections, which we may be permitted to anticipate. It is said that "the proposed undertaking is formidable." It certainly involves work; but most things do that are worth the doing. Philadelphia has demonstrated that such a canvass can be thoroughly made in a great city. If one in ten of our evangelical church-membership will give a half day once a month to such work, the gospel can be carried to the home of every non-church-going family in the United States twelve times a year. It is objected that "ladies of culture cannot be induced to engage in such house-to-house visita-

tion." They can be, if they have the spirit of Christ; and if they lack it, they will not be wanted. "But such work will be very expensive." On the contrary, it is found to be trifling.

It is asked, "Will not people resent such inquiries into their church habits?" Yes, to some extent, but not so as to embarrass the work. Much will depend on the good sense of the visitors. I knew a visitor who gathered the desired facts concerning more than twelve thousand people of all sorts, and in only two instances met with the slightest rebuff.

"But," it is urged, "there are too many organizations already." Since whatever concerns the intellectual, moral or spiritual welfare of the community that can be accomplished better through co-operation than by individual or denominational effort is germane to the local alliance, it will greatly simplify work and obviate the necessity of multiplied organizations.

"But are not pastors overworked already; how can they undertake additional burdens?" Yes, many pastors are being worked to death—killed, because they are trying to do their own duty and that of the church besides. And it is that for which the church pays the minister—to do the aggressive Christian work, which ought to be the *business* of every Christian. Every one knows that the work of the church is done by a very small minority of its membership. The great majority are under the impression that all personal Christian work may be commuted for a money consideration, that the pastor and a city missionary or two are employed to do such work in their stead. As well might a regiment of soldiers expect their colonel, with an aid-de-camp or two, to fight their battles. There are no substitutes in this war. Christian duty cannot be done vicariously.

It is this work, left undone by the many, which causes the chariot wheels of the church to drive heavily, and which is working so many ministers to their death. This new movement proposes greatly to increase the working force of the church. The membership undertakes a vast amount of personal work, now left almost wholly to the clergy. This co-operative movement will serve all the great ends for which the pastors are laboring. It at once stimulates the growth of congregations and Sabbath-schools. It meets the three great prerequisites for reaching the masses; that is, it arouses a desire to reach them, it furnishes the information necessary to sustain interest, and mingles the leaven with the meal.

It increases the spirituality of the church. A large proportion of the membership cannot thus engage in systematic, personal Christian work without gaining to themselves and the church a rich blessing, and enjoying an outpouring of the Holy Spirit which has been the great need of the church in all ages. Surely the overtasked pastor is the last man who can reasonably decline to enter so helpful a movement and lead his people into it.

The co-operation should not be confined to the churches which join hands in the local alliance. When a sufficient number of local alliances have been formed in the same state, they should come together and organize a state alliance. A secretary for the same should be secured who will push the work of local and county organization. The county alliances could co-operate in finding and evangelizing the destitute neighborhoods far removed from churches. There are many such neglected localities in the country as well as the city, especially in mountain regions, north as well as south.

Plans might be wrought out by which an inter-denominational committee of the state alliance could do something, perhaps much, toward securing a wiser distribution of churches, a better economy of men and means. The introduction of railways has shifted populations. Many villages in the older states have been depleted, so that churches perhaps once necessary, or at least justifiable, are now forced to struggle for existence and fall into competition. There are often three or four feeble churches where one or two could do the work as well, and hence better. Our frontier towns likewise suffer sometimes from a congestion of churches, while other towns and large city populations of twenty, forty and even fifty thousand souls have but one Protestant church, and perhaps none at all of any kind. This is not doing the Lord's business on business principles. A comprehensive study of the whole field with reference to all the denominations at work in it, and a large-souled Christian co-operation among them, might do much to relieve both the famine in the ministry and that in home missionary society treasuries.

III. Through the local alliance can be secured the co-operation of the Christian millions of the land for the accomplishment of needed reforms, and for the defense of cherished American institutions.

Does any one doubt that the ten or twelve million members of evangelical churches in the United States could, if united in aim and methods, accomplish any moral reform within the range of

possibility? There is now no facility for concert of action. If a measure of vital importance to public morals were pending in Congress or a state legislature, and the moral and Christian sentiment of the nation were a substantial unit for or against it, there is no organization through which it could promptly and effectively act. We must expect crises, state and national, when such an organization will be imperatively needed. Indeed, such exigencies are so clearly in sight, that such an organization ought to be near at hand. The enemies of the Christian Sabbath are organizing in several states for the express purpose of breaking down our Sabbath laws. To a united front we need to oppose a united front. If we had local alliances in every community, a few days would suffice to cover a state with documents and bring to bear upon legislatures a pressure which would be irresistible.

Another illustration of the need of a comprehensive organization, which will make possible the co-operation of our Protestant churches, is the attack upon our public school system, the attempt to pervert public funds to the support of sectarian schools. The Alliance has abundant evidence that this is the fixed purpose of Ultramontanism in the United States, a policy which is fraught with imminent danger to our free institutions.

The common school is the principal digestive organ of the body politic. It does more than anything else to assimilate the children of the immigrant. In the common school these children of European peasants are the peers of any. They breathe a new atmosphere of self-respect and independence, and are taught to think. With such a training there is little danger of their being made the minions of a foreign potentate.

The parochial school would build a wall around these children and separate them from Americanizing influences, would make of Irish children Irish *men*, of German children German *men*. Our land is broad enough for a thousand million *Americans*, born in whatever land, but not large enough for these diverse elements *among* us which refuse to be *of* us.

If our organization for Christian co-operation proposed for itself no other objects, the defense of cherished and endangered institutions and the prosecution of moral reforms would amply justify its existence. But high as these aims are, they are not the highest. Let us not misunderstand ourselves, or mistake the true hiding of our power. If this movement is to have a profound meaning; if it

is to meet the mighty emergency of the times; if it is to do what must be done, penetrate the very heart of the nation with purifying and saving power; if it is to give direction to the new life which is quickening the millions—it must lay hold of motives and of might which are higher than human. It is true, the only way to elevate our civilization is to elevate our citizens. The only way to save institutions is to save men. But we shall not save men if we seek them for the sake of our institutions and our civilization. They were made for man, not man for them. And we shall fail of the lower unless we aim at and achieve the higher.

Christ did not die to save our country; his agony was not for institutions. He did not leave the glory which he had with the Father before the world was to save magnificent business blocks from the frenzy of a vandal mob. He died for every *man.* Our government, our civilization, our cherished American institutions, the legacy of the fathers—dear as they are to us—are only a part of the scaffolding of that temple which God is rearing in the earth, built of *living* stones, fashioned after the similitude of the headstone of the corner. And that shall *abide.* It was these eternal values which inspired the life and death of the Son of God, and such has been the inspiration of the great movements and the great men that have regenerated society. Divine motives are accompanied with divine power.

When John Knox in travail of soul exclaimed, "Give me Scotland or I die!" it was the salvation of men for which he agonized. It is when men thus enter into fullness of sympathy with the saving God that they are made the mighty instruments of that power which in heaven and earth has been given to the Lord, Christ.

CO-OPERATION IN SMALL CITIES.

ADDRESS BY REV. FRANK RUSSELL, D. D., OSWEGO, N. Y.

Mr. Chairman, Brethren and Fathers: So far as there is anything peculiar in this method of Christian labor on the part of the churches, it had its spring from the association of nearly a dozen pastors, somewhat through correspondence, under the leadership of a gentleman and father whom I delight to name, Rev. S. A. Bronson, an Episcopal clergyman of Ohio, for fifteen years the President of Gambier College, a man filled with the Holy Spirit, now eighty-five years of age, with natural powers almost unabated—a man singularly skillful in methods of organization. Personally, I have felt that I have sometimes received a great deal more credit in this matter than I deserve. These ministers, in sacred association with this man, lamented, through weekly meetings that lasted half a year, over the spectacle of the lack of Christian work in the average community—the masses being unreached; and the question arose to their minds how the difficulty could be remedied. The inefficiency of revivals; the fact that of Christian work the churches do some; that evangelists and revivalists must do some; that some is relegated to other bodies; that lodges and other organizations must do some of it—all this was present to their minds. They saw that the churches were not doing it, or that, when they were doing it here and there, spontaneously, it seemed as though they were working at a disadvantage; that an isolated church was endeavoring to work the whole field, while the whole field did not belong to one church; and it seemed as though no church could do its own work well, unless it was also assisting in doing the work of all the churches in a given community.

The association of pastors, to which I have already referred, made a computation of how many workers would fit a certain field or territory, and discussed the question whether to organize these

workers first, or to arrange the map of the territory first, and match the workers to the work. This subject was long and carefully studied, and it was thought that, if the territory were divided into districts of one hundred houses each, which might lie right along on one side of the street, and if these districts were subdivided into "fields" having ten dwellings each, and a field assigned to each worker, the greatest practicable amount of good might be effected. In places where a large Catholic community was known to be, the number of workers could be increased. Then, if for every one hundred church members there could be drawn ten workers who would visit from house to house, with a director chosen from the same one hundred church members, who would efficiently lead them, apportion to them their respective fields, and watch over their reports and instruct and encourage them in their practical work, it was believed that this would be the most efficient and orderly plan of organization. Where there was a fraction of a hundred church members—exceeding fifty, in addition to the full hundreds—then another director and another set of ten workers should be chosen from that fraction.

It was found by experience that in the choice of these ten, it would be well to choose fifteen, because some are "going visiting," and some "don't want to," and some "can't"—which is the meanest "cant" ever uttered. [Laughter and applause.] So it was found that if we counted the workers by fifteens, instead of tens, and held a third of them for a reserve force, we should be ready.

These ministers were united; their hearts were together; they had lamented over the matter together. They had decided not to call their church a "field" again. It is not their field; it is their *force*. The outlying community is their "field." They concluded that they were the representatives of this force, and had been appointed—called of God—to set them to work—thundering into their ears the admonition to go into the lanes and highways and compel people to come in; to say to every active member of their church that it was his or her duty to go at this work. They had lamented over the fact that often when they had pronounced the benediction and the congregation had gone out, many a pastor had gone down into his own heart, and after meditation had found himself involuntarily saying: "There, I have preached the gospel to the very people in this community who need it the least, while

the people in this community who need it the most I do not preach to; I cannot get at them."

So these pastors made their arrangements. They chose their supervisors. They brought them together. Some of these men were deacons and some were not. They were all bright men, however, devout men, business-men—men that we felt would persevere. They came together—thirty-two of them, with nine or ten pastors. We had a pretty good meeting. We told these gentlemen what we proposed to do—that we proposed to organize these forces that had been given to us, and put them into the field, and so work them that we would not have to blush for the fact that right in the sound of our church bells were families living, into whose presence the gospel had never been carried.

Some said it was impracticable. Others said, "We tried a canvass here a few years ago and got papers and everything printed, but it fell flat. I do not believe in it." "Well," we said, "but this is not a canvass. This is a thing to be perpetuated. This is not a revival." The terrible thing about a revival is, that it stops. The "boxes" get hot, and the train stops. We thought we would try not to get the boxes hot, but to let the train go right ahead, steadily, but so that it would reach every house.

The supervisors said "Amen," and went ahead with the work. It was asked what should be done with the Catholics. We said we would do the best we could for them. It is a wonderful population—the Catholic population in Oswego. I never saw any Catholic population so unbigoted, or having priests so unbigoted. It fell to my lot to visit three priests on my side of the river. Two of them "did not know anything about it," and were apparently serene and unruffled about the condition of things. But one of them said, "If you can find some good-for-nothing Catholics that nothing can be done with, send them to me, and I know that I can point out to you a good many good-for-nothing Presbyterians, and when I find any such I will send them to you." [Laughter.] Ever since that time, when he has met me that priest has said "Good morning, Father," and I have returned the compliment. But he said to me, "Our church relations are such that we cannot unite with you." I said "All right; then I promise you that as an organization, when we have made our first canvass we will not instruct our workers to continue their visits on your families; we will leave you out.

We made a canvass of the districts and fields. We knew that they would shrink pretty well after the first visit. We knew pretty well about what districts would shrink, and about how much. We therefore arranged our map and made a list of houses. We intended to have a list of ten houses to each field, and ten fields in each district, and we approximated pretty closely to that. Then we got some cards printed, bearing a request to a minister, whose name should be supplied, to call upon the person or family that should be indicated. The visitors were asked by the pastor to serve in this work. I do not believe they were voted for in any instance. Each church handled that matter as it saw fit, because we believed that every denomination should keep house in its own household after its own fashion. We were not asking one of the churches to give up anything. We were simply asking them to come together and capture the city for the Lord.

When the names of the visitors came in from the different churches, there were, I believe, thirty-five or forty from the Congregational church, and sixty-five from the two Presbyterian churches. Then we said, "Now, how shall we balance this matter so that not one of these denominations shall feel, or have any cause to feel, that there is any other one getting the larger part of this excellent loaf?" So we put the Presbyterian cards all in one basket, and put the supervisors in a row. They took out one card each. Then we passed the Methodist basket, and they took out one card each; then we passed the Lutheran basket, and they took out one each; so that when we got through, each of these men had ten tickets, representing various denominations, perhaps two of one kind, two of another, three of a third, and so on. The thing was pretty well balanced between the denominations. Then, each of the supervisors drew a district, and the workers drew their respective fields. But the supervisor may appoint them, in some equitable way, to their respective fields. It may be necessary to make some changes, however. One lady looks at her field and says, "Oh, that is on Orange Street, from Eleventh to Fourteenth. I never could visit there, in the world." When asked why, she answers, "Because they are such fine houses." Very well. The supervisor very soon hears of another visitor who says, "I could not go down on the Flats for anything. If I had a good neighborhood I would go." "Then," the supervisor says,

"swap." [Laughter and applause.] So that by a little adjustment of that sort the matter is arranged.

When I called my supervisors together, I do not believe I ever preached the gospel so well to any men as I did to those forty. Even then, some of them shrank from the work; but not many. Some could not go into fine houses; others could not go into the houses of the poor; others could not go into saloons. In that case they were told that if they found a place, such as a saloon, that they shrank from entering, they should report it to the supervisor. When we got the visitors together and heard their statements we learned much as to the revision of the plan and its further extension. Their suggestions were valuable. We gave them a schedule of blanks to fill, but we instructed them not to go about this work perfunctorily. We told them they were not census-takers, and should not go into a house and ask, "How many children have you?" and, "Where do you go to church?" and pull out their pencil and paper and put it down, but to say that they called in the interest of the church work, that everybody had heard about; that the house lay in the visitor's district, and that the visitor wanted to make their acquaintance. They had, however, taken pains to inquire, perhaps next door, and had noted down what they had heard about the family, so that they had a pretty good preliminary account before they entered. They left their blanks at home and filled out their report when they got back from their visit. We explained to them that their first monthly report would, necessarily, be defective. We hoped it would, because we wanted them to get acquainted. Some of them said, "Must I go every month—twelve times a year?" Then they would say, "I cannot do that; I have so much work on hand now." But we said, "You can give one afternoon a month to the Lord." When the matter was fairly launched and the work started, there were very few who said they could not attend to it.

We called monthly meetings. At these meetings we held a long session. The first part of the meeting would be a meeting of the executive committee composed of a couple of laymen and a couple of pastors, and then a meeting of the supervisors and visitors. It was thought that where there were so many (there being 303 of them) they would be audience enough, and it was deemed best not to have the audiences too large. We had the "question box" arrangement, with which you are all familiar. That was for the

purpose of gathering their suggestions and especially their testimonies; and their testimonies are the most wonderful I ever heard in any class of evangelical work whatsoever. It is like a perpetual revival. It is quite common for them to say, "When I entered upon this work I thought I could never get used to it, but when I got used to it I would not give it up for anything." One of them said, "I would not have believed that a crippled, bedridden woman, nearly seventy years old, who has been confined to her room for three years (ever since she has lived in Oswego), would tell me that not a Christian, let alone a minister, has ever spoken one word to her." Another said, "If anybody had told me three months ago that I would go into a person's house and would be found praying with her, I should have scouted the idea; but when a sick women told me that no one had spoken of religion to her for three or four years, and as I took her hand, she asked, with tears in her eyes 'Can't you kneel down and pray with me?' I could not help doing it." [Applause.] We had many such experiences.

Now let us look at the results. For one thing, prejudices were broken down through personal acquaintance. I believe that this will heal more disorders in a community and stop more prejudices against the churches than anything else, and that it should be more generally understood. Let people become acquainted. Some people say to a pastor, "I have had nothing to do with church matters for ten years, but my wife has become acquainted with some of your church people and has got to going to your church, and the children are going to your Sunday-school; and I guess I'll go around to the church myself." [Laughter and applause.]

These pastors said they would not do anything, or make any appointment that would interfere with their attending the meetings of the supervisors and visitors on the night appointed for their meetings, and they kept their word.

Each visitor was provided with a card to be sent to a minister, asking him to call at the house indicated; that a family at that house had expressed a preference for the particular church of that minister. Some visitors reported that they had found it difficult to ascertain which church people had a preference for. When they asked the question, they would perhaps receive the answer, "Don't care for any of them." This would be followed up by the question

"In what church were you brought up?" To which the answer would perhaps be, "My husband was a Methodist and I was brought up in the Presbyterian church, but we don't care for any of them now." "Is this little boy the only child you have?" "Yes, Henry is our only child." "If Henry should die, which minister would you ask to officiate at his funeral?" "Oh, I suppose we would ask Dr. Stebbins." That is enough. Dr. Stebbins is requested to call upon that family. Sometimes when a minister is advised that a preference has thus been expressed for his church he has said, "I know that family. I have passed the house many times, but I never knew that they had any Presbyterian inclinations." Or a Baptist minister would say, "Why, I know that family; but I never knew they were Baptists, or had any inclination that way." These visitors would report monthly the number of persons they had called upon. As a consequence of their labors there are recruits in the Sunday-school, in the prayer-meetings and in the church. Many persons will tell you, when asked how they came into the church, that Mrs. So-and-so had called upon her; that she had told her that she was brought up in the Sunday-school of such a church, and that the visitor had said to her "Then won't you come up and take some interest in the church—your old church home?" And so she had come.

By this plan there is no opportunity for a clashing between the churches. A visitor, if a Methodist, would not ask a person whom she found with Presbyterian leanings, to come to the Methodist church. She knows that her duty is to pilot that woman to the Presbyterian church; and if a Presbyterian visitor found a woman inclined to the Methodist church, the visitor would pilot her there. It does not count any more, nor any less, to take a sheep out of one pen and put it in another. [Laughter and applause.] What we want is to get all the sheep.

This exercises a reflex influence that is wonderful. The pastors observe that the visitors, although so "overworked," as they are sometimes disposed to think, do not stay away from Sunday-school or from church service. They are all aglow when they come to the church, because they are filled with the spirit of the Lord that is engendered, through his influence upon them, by the work in which they are engaged.

As a consequence of this work our census is reliable, because it is being revised all the time. We know just how many saloons

there are, and how many children do not go to Sunday-school. We know just how many young people are leaving. Ministers very often say that the reports of our foreign missionaries are reliable, because they live in the communities of which they write; they know the habits of these communities, and they are honest men, who will not misrepresent. When they write anything for the public prints, we rely on them. So we know that anything reported by our visitors is correct, because of their personal visits to houses once a month for a year. We know the figures are reliable. I thank you very kindly, brethren, for your close attention. [Applause.]

The Chairman: I am going to exercise a privilege which our President extended to me privately, when he introduced me to the audience. I am going to say a word, inspired by this very interesting and very practical address to which we have just listened.

One of the rules of this Conference is, that we cannot take any vote, so that if I should desire you to authorize me by a vote to say something, there is no means of giving effect to the request. But I know that the success of this meeting has weighed very much on the minds and hearts of these brethren who have prepared it for us. I wish for myself, and also for many who have expressed the same sentiments that I feel, to express our heartiest thanks to President Dodge and Secretary Strong for the efforts which they made to secure so interesting a programme, and for the judicious and well-timed selection of topics of practical interest, and the excellent selection of speakers. The papers and addresses that we have thus far heard, have been of the highest possible interest, and our thanks must go out in liberal measure to the gentlemen who have prepared those papers and addresses. [Applause.]

I make these remarks as preliminary to the discharge of the very pleasant duty assigned to me, of announcing the address which is next in order, entitled "Co-operation in Large Cities"—a subject of large importance, as we can all readily understand. For this paper, the officers of the Conference have been fortunate in securing the services of a gentleman so well fitted by experience and ability as the Rev. Dr. Schauffler, of New York, whom I now have the great pleasure of introducing to you.

DENOMINATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN LARGE CITIES.

ADDRESS BY REV. A. F. SCHAUFFLER, D. D., OF NEW YORK.

For four men, passing over different roads, to meet at a given point, is not difficult. For four regiments to traverse four roads and meet at the rendezvous, requires careful management. For four armies to accomplish the same task, requires the highest degree of skill and the rarest talent. In the same way, for a few Christian workers to co-operate in aggressive effort is a simple matter easy of accomplishment. A larger measure of grace and a higher degree of ability is needed to unite four churches of the same or of different denominations in a given work. But to unite many churches of many denominations in the work of any large city, calls for the very highest degree of unselfishness, and the very wisest adaptation of means to ends.

Probably no man living has wisdom enough to lay out any plan of co-operation among denominations in large cities, that would be anything more than *ideal*. Before it could become a reality, it would have to be largely discussed and extensively modified. If as the result of such discussion, any plan were eventually adopted, experience would soon point to needful changes.

In all discussion of our theme, one or two facts of past experience must ever be borne in mind. Foremost among these is the fact that for more than a quarter of a century the tendency has ever been toward a tightening of denominational ties. Especially has this been true in great cities. The very power of a multitude of churches of the same polity concentrated in one city has made each denomination feel that it is sufficient unto itself, and need not look abroad for allies. The result has been that the segregation of these bodies has gone on rapidly, until to-day none

ever thinks of asking what the other is doing. Each works along its own lines, practically ignoring the existence of the others.

There are at present, however, signs visible to the close observer —not many indeed, nor very well defined, but none the less real— that a turn in this denominational tide is slowly setting in. The problem of how to reach the masses is being discussed with an eagerness that augurs well for the future. The sad fact that in great cities the denominations have one and all been falling behind in the work of the church, is arousing anxious attention. In this case, as in so many others, to fully recognize the evil is a great step towards remedying it. The very existence of a great conference like this, which seriously discusses the question of denominational co-operation, proves that leading minds are actively engaged in seeking for the solution of a most difficult question. We have no idea that denominational barriers are about to disappear. But we do believe and devoutly pray that in that aggressive evangelistic work, which surpasses the resources of any single religious body, a form of co-operative effort may yet be devised and carried into effect.

As a feeble contribution towards this much-to-be-desired consummation, we offer the following thoughts in a tentative way.

Three methods of pursuing the work lying before the church are supposable.

First. Carry the work on in purely denominational ways. This has been tried for many years. That much good has been accomplished in this way, all gladly admit. That friendly rivalry even, when properly restrained, has had a wholesome influence, none will deny. But the fact remains that the work undone has steadily increased from year to year. In great cities, the world is gaining on the church. This may be explained by referring to the fact of immigration, but explanation does not do away with the stern facts of the case. Yes, in great cities, the world is gaining on the church Purely denominational effort has not met the case. At least, in New York no single denomination has yet developed force enough to hold the ground against the adverse power of incoming godlessness. Our Episcopal friends, by reason largely of their greater solidarity of government, have come the nearest to this desired end. But even they would hardly claim that they had done all that the case demands. If, then, we may judge of the future by the past,

something more than purely denominational work is imperatively called for.

Second. Carry on the work in an inter-denominational way. By this we mean, let the various bodies unite, and, through their representatives, push the battle into the lines of the enemy. Let presbytery and classis, association and convocation, co-operate organically in aggressive action. However desirable such union might be, we presume all would agree that, for the present at least, it is entirely impracticable. Before any such millennial consummation would be reached, denominations must have learned at least the lesson of territorial non-interference. This lesson is still unlearned, and if learned, is unpracticed. There remains, therefore, only one alternative.

Third. Carry on the work in an undenominational way. Let the various bodies maintain each its own churches, as heretofore. But for the attack on the seats of Satan, from which particular denominations have so largely recoiled, let undenominational energies be enlisted. While it may yet be too much to expect that presbytery or association shall officially recognize any work not under its exclusive jurisdiction, it is not vain to hope that individual churches may largely unite their energies in union work along strictly evangelical lines. In addition to this, there are many laymen of large means and larger hearts who will respond willingly to any call for help that comes from work well done. Much undenominational work is already being done, which from its very nature cannot be accomplished in any other way. The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Children's Aid Society work in emigration and in education, the Industrial Education Association and other kindred organizations, show their means and their workers from all bodies of evangelical believers. They stand as proof of the fact that undenominational work is not only possible, but actual. This liberal spirit may well be cherished and applied to new fields of activity. The London City Mission Society shows what can be done in the world's metropolis; and what has been so grandly accomplished there, is possible in our large cities. In New York an undenominational city mission exists, in addition to Methodist, Baptist and Episcopal city mission societies. That which has there complicated the problem and caused the three bodies above mentioned to withhold largely their support, has been the fact that, unlike the London Society, ours has gone so far as

to establish churches and administer the ordinances. The New York society still receives aid from all denominations through individuals, but many churches have ceased to contribute, on account of the difference of opinion and of the proper ministry in the methods of administering the sacraments. Yet all these churches at the same time cordially acknowledge the evangelical and Christian nature of the churches established by that society. Co-operation in any large city in undenominational work, such as visitation, night missions, gospel temperance meetings, neighborhood meetings, should be easy, and is perfectly possible. The initiative must in all such cases be taken by individual clergymen and laymen, since, as we have seen, official endorsement is not yet to be expected. We go farther than this, however, and believe that with wise management denominational co-operation is possible, even when the work is pushed in destitute districts as far as the establishment of churches in which the sacraments are administered. Under a recent change in the New York society, signs are already apparent that the support of laymen of various religious bodies is on the increase. Churches, also, which have thus far held aloof, are slowly falling into line, recognizing that the society fills a vacancy unfilled by any denomination, with the growth of a sense of need, and the proof that an undenominational body can better meet that need, at least in some of its phases; and with a corresponding growth of inter-denominational confidences, we are persuaded that the ground lost would be recovered.

Dr. Strong: We have all heard of the work which was inaugurated in Philadelphia a year ago — the canvass which was made of a million of people. The vice-president of the organization that did that work is present with us, and for five minutes will talk to us about it—Rev. R. A. Edwards, of Philadelphia.

REMARKS BY REV. R. A. EDWARDS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: You have heard in a general way, no doubt, of the work in Philadelphia. It differed somewhat from the work that you have heard of as done in Oswego and New York, in that it struck, as in our orderly Quaker City would be expected, the happy mean. We did not get things quite

as they have them in Oswego, nor are we quite so denominational in Philadelphia as they are represented to be required in New York. When the work began, we found it difficult to get our people to go out to visit, particularly in the good neighborhoods. The ladies of my own congregation said, "Give us the little streets and the by-ways; we do not like to go to these better-class houses with their beautiful fronts."

The result was with most pastors as it was with me, that we had almost to drive the "dear things" out of the lecture-room to the work. Their chief difficulty lay in the matter of introducing themselves, so I prepared a little card for them, which was afterwards adopted by the central committee, and used all over the city. It read as follows:

> "WE should be glad to see some member of the family for a few moments.
>
> "We have called with reference to the special religious services to be held by the churches of the city during the second week in January.
>
> _____
>
> _____
>
> VISITORS."

This was handed the servant. They were relieved of embarrassment, and the persons called on knew they were not going to see booksellers or sewing-machine agents. When they came back it was almost like the disciples returning to the Master, and saying, "The spirits are subject unto us." Their faces were radiant, their hearts glad and their spirits thankful.

That visiting work was the best part of the whole thing. In January we held services for a week in the 300 churches in the movement. I cannot say that was a success. All the churches being open, as a general thing only the regular attendants came; but there was an impetus given to the work by that week's meetings that has been felt since in all the churches. In my own church the Bishop of the Diocese came, and presided and spoke at a meeting in which the Episcopal service was rendered, and addresses were delivered by Rev. Dr. Danforth, of the Congregational church, Rev. Dr. Tiffany of the Episcopal church and others. Then the elegant First Regiment Armory was opened for religious services. Objection was made this morning by a very able speaker, whose essay is worthy of all praise, to these outside services—

services outside the churches. But if he could have seen this service in the First Regiment Armory building, he might not have spoken as he did. The building was given to us for religious services for the Sunday nights in January and although they were wild and stormy, more persons were present than are now in this spacious edifice. I had the honor to be the chaplain of the regiment at that time, and I had two of my best cornet men stand by the door before service and play the familiar tunes of the Gospel Hymns. After earnest preaching and singing, the clergymen went down among the people and got others to help them, and they spoke to individual souls and asked, "Are you a Christian?" There was one woman there, who, when the minister approached her, almost laughed in his face, but the question "Are you a Christian?" followed her, and when the opportunity came to meet him in the inquiry-room she was there. And she came again and again, bringing her sister with her, and the whole family were brought into the church through the medium of that one service. Successful services were also held in some theaters.

It has been said here that undenominational movements cannot be very well carried on. We are going to have, in January next, in Philadelphia, in my own neighborhood, union meetings, conducted by the evangelist, Rev. B. Fay Mills, in which seven denominations altogether will be represented. The main service will be held in the Congregational church, but we are going to have meetings in other churches. We are also going to have neighborhoods visited—not with books and pencils, as last year, but we shall take the books of last year and see where the families are that do not attend church, and have them visited. We shall also distribute a tract calling attention to our special work.

The work of this year has done very great good, and is telling upon our city in a number of ways. The other day there called upon the mayor of Philadelphia—a man who is trying to have the rum-shops closed in Philadelphia on Sunday—a delegation of business-men, lawyers and clergymen to thank him for his noble services in endeavoring to enforce the Sunday laws of Pennsylvania. Of the six thousand saloons in Philadelphia, only one or two hundred are now open on Sundays by a side or back entrance. So we are feeling the benefits of this work of city evangelization. Men have had their attention called to it, as they never have had before;

and the Law and Order Society of Philadelphia is now reaping great benefits in connection with the work of Christian evangelization.

Let us not be too hard upon "brown stone." There was a time when you and I thought it was a little hard to sit by a colored man in the street-cars, or go to the polls with him. But the other day we read in the newspapers that the ladies of Atlanta had gone to the polls with them, in the temperance cause, which is to be the great cause of the future. [Applause.] You thought it strange, perhaps, to be put on an equal footing with those men, but when we get used to it, it does not hurt us. And so it is comparatively easy for most here present, who are Christians of growth and experience, to visit and work for the Master. Let people living in "brown stones" know more of this work of city evangelization and realize its importance, and they soon will be following where others of their wealthy neighbors have already led.

We had a conference in Philadelphia last month which was largely attended and lasted for three days, and we are going to have a meeting next week in which prominent men will read papers, etc. We are then going to make preparation for a renewal of the work begun in January. It may be, if God's providence opens the way, and his blessing is upon us, that it will be followed up month after month. We are also going to try, if possible, to introduce into the neighborhood of our brown stone houses what is known as the "King's Daughter" movement. I had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Bottome in regard to coming to Philadelphia. She said she was coming to Washington, and, if she comes here I bespeak for her, from the ladies of this pleasant city, hearty interest and sympathy in her work. She forms groups of ladies, ten in number, who meet in their own parlors and who reach out in various directions and bring in others. They consecrate themselves to the work of the Master—the King's Daughters seeking to be all glorious within by consecration of heart to God, and devotion of life to mankind.

REV. THOS. H. McMULLEN, ARIZONA.

The necessity for co-operation in Christian work by the churches in the United States, seems to be agreed upon, at least by this Conference, if the applause that greeted the addresses upon that subject was indicative of the approving judgment of delegates and

audience. The recognition of this necessity is the natural product of the clear, adequate business-like understanding of the dangers and perils threatening our Christian civilization, both without and within the church, so abundantly indicated in the papers and addresses upon the various special topics with which this Conference has been occupied the past two days.

Perils to the family, perils to the church, perils which threaten this Christian nation and menace her free institutions will henceforth be better understood and more thoroughly appreciated than ever before. However many and imminent these perils may be, the gratifying truth has been demonstrated, that the Christian resources of our country are, if united, and consecrated to the cause of Christ, abundantly adequate to arrest and overcome them.

The great practical question of the hour is that of method in utilizing these Christian resources. If improved methods be not devised; if a new enthusiasm, born of the Holy Spirit, be not infused into the life of the church, manifesting itself in hosts of devoted men and women, and the consecration to God of some of the hoarded Christian wealth of this country—then we have not received the blessing which I have hoped this Conference would be instrumental in bringing down from the Source of all good.

The church in this country has, in the co-operative work of previous years, had little of regular method, but it has, however unmethodical, been slowly but surely cultivating and ripening a spirit of brotherly love, toleration and Christian fellowship, and gradually, but with probably sufficient rapidity, evolving that spirit of unity so necessary for co-operation, which at last enables us (the most of us) to look over, above and beyond creed, dogma, tradition and denominationalism, and clasping each other by the hand, say "My brother!"

This happy spirit of fraternity and loving Christian fellowship is due in no small degree to co-operation in Christian work, and is one of the richest blessings brought from above to the church by such co-operation. Time was, within the memory of most of us, when co-operation even for counsel was unpopular; now method of co-operation in actual, evangelical, personal work is the burning question. Have we not, in this respect, felt the blessing of a greater measure of the spirit of our Lord, so that we all will encourage and engage in co-operative Christian work in cities large and small, as well as in rural communities?

While there is so much we all honor and love, in the zeal, consecration and industry of the various bodies of Christians in this land within their several denominational pales, yet might we not hope for grander, more glorious results, if, as a matter of method, all our Christian endeavor was inspired alone by love for God, faith in Christ, and zeal for our common humanity, absolutely divorced from party ties and untrammeled by denominational obligations?

It would be a sad task for the future historian to write of this century, that sin overcame righteousness because the adherents of the right would not use the best methods of co-operation in Christian work; and still more solemnly sad would be the verdict of the critic of our era who found that such methods were not employed because loyalty to sectarian parties, into which the disciples of Jesus had divided themselves, forbade their use for fear denominational interests would be disturbed.

But remembering our Saviour's piteous prayer "for all them that shall believe on me through their word, that they all may be one, as we are one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us;" and reading afresh St. Paul's stern admonition concerning "them who do make divisions," and his solemn exhortation "to be of one spirit and one mind, speaking the same things in the same judgment," light breaks ahead, revealing a glorious vision of a reunited church under the single banner of the Prince of Peace, led on by no motive but love for Christ and humanity, marching up against every peril that confronts American and Christian civilization, and with a shout of triumph and praise vanquishing every foe.

REV. JOSHUA RUSSELL.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The last service that I attended at my home was a gathering of some four hundred Christian people, representing about eight denominations scattered among some eighteen churches. They were gathered with the purpose of thoroughly districting a city of about thirty thousand people, in which there are at least six thousand workingmen employed by a single great manufacturing and railroad establishment.

As I have sat here listening to the methods that have been proposed, I have felt that there was not very much difference between thirty thousand people and a million people so far as methods of work are concerned. For, there is a common human nature everywhere. The little city of thirty thousand or fifteen thousand inhabitants must be reached by essentially the same method by which the city of three hundred thousand or a million of people is reached. I believe that our methods will be successful largely in proportion as they start right.

Listening to Dr. Post this morning, from Beirout, as he held up before us the necessity of co-operation in the foreign field on account of the gigantic forces of paganism and heathenism that confront the Christian church, I was reminded of the words of Dr. Burt, (sainted man !) who said that when he was in the United States as a Christian minister he was glad to be known as a Presbyterian; that when he crossed to the continent of Europe and faced the great divisions there, especially as the line was drawn between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, he rejoiced to be known as a Protestant; but when he stood in the far East, confronting great pagan and heathen institutions, he forgot that he was a Presbyterian and a Protestant, and remembered only that he was a Christian. [Applause.]

But, my friends, this is not, it seems to me, after all, the true source of co-operation. This is simply that to which resistance brings us. I believe there is a source of co-operation which is vital—not external, but vital—not simply the pressure of the atmosphere that holds us to our places and holds life and the organism together, but the vitalizing power which takes oxygen into the blood. I believe that our methods must start with a common life. "We are one body in Christ." And no co-operation will be successful that does not start with Jesus Christ as its heart and living center.

There are certain tests or criteria to which all methods of co-operation must be subjected. Life is aggressive. The most aggressive thing in all the universe is life, and the least aggressive is death. Our methods, therefore, must be aggressive. They must be intelligent, they must be scriptural: they must be flexible, so as to be adapted to emergencies. They must be more than that; they must be practical. It was only a little while ago that a company of physicians was gathered from the continent and from Great Britain. In that little conclave a Parisian surgeon of great

eminence detailed an operation which he pronounced to be marvelously brilliant, and when the keen, cultivated practicalism of the Anglo-Saxon confronted him in the question propounded by an English physician, as to how many times these "marvelously brilliant" operations had proved successful, the answer was, "Not in one case!" But still it was brilliant. There are a good many experiments that are brilliant but are not practical. One thing more. Our methods must have the note of immediateness—an eternal NOW, the monosyllable of all Christian activities. [Applause.]

REV. SAM W. SMALL.

MR. PRESIDENT: The subject of co-operation in efforts to reach the masses in the great centers of life in this country is a subject which you will appreciate as coming very close home to me. Since Jesus Christ, through his great love, less than twenty-seven months ago, reached down and raised me up from the depths to which sin and intemperance and recklessness against God had brought me, I have been giving, daily and hourly, the best service of my heart, in its prayers, and of my hands and head and feet in their labors, to try to reach and rescue men like myself, thus utterly helpless and hopeless. [Applause.]

I can say to you to-night that what I am, I am by the grace of God. What I have been able to do, be it much or little, has been wholly by the grace and power of Jesus Christ. And, standing before you, I feel like saying that, if I had no other mission in the world, I should feel that I was doing my fellow-men a good to simply stand silent in their midst, as a witness to the power of Christ to reach him who had gone, it seemed, down into the uttermost depths of degradation through sin, and to bring him back again and to make him sober and pure, and invest him with hope of heaven. To reach the masses is one of the great problems of the day, and no one can appreciate it better than those who are actively engaged in these efforts.

Before you this evening I should not open my mouth were it not to say that from the experience which I have had, in co-operation with Rev. Sam Jones in many of the largest cities of the country during the past twenty-four months, it is my conviction

that nothing is so much needed for the freedom of the enslaved—those who are bound in the spiritual bonds of iniquity and darkness—as that there shall be among the churches co-operation in every movement, and with every man that gives signs of earnestness and honesty. [Applause.]

We have had the pleasure of laboring in many of the cities of the West, and of the South, and of the North, and have even been over the borders into Canada; and I can say to you that every meeting we have ever held, that had about it the elements of success and that brought many to a knowledge of their sins, was brought about where we had the most hearty and most unquestioning co-operation of all denominations. We have seen this result of co-operation in a most marvelous degree. We had it in a most wonderful measure in the city of Chicago. Perhaps few movements have ever so much moved that city on the subject of spiritual light, and on the subject of the recovery of the lost, as that movement, while it was in progress. One gentleman who has entertained you here, Rev. Mr. McPherson, and other ministers, as well as the officers of the Young Men's Christian Association in that city, gave us their hearty co-operation. There was a great work done there, and a great movement started, the results of which only eternity can tell.

In Baltimore we had the co-operation of nearly all the denominations. Among them there were no persons more vigilant, active, determined and earnest than some who are sitting as your colleagues in this Conference—among them some ministers of the grand Episcopal church.

I can only add one word that may be of any value to you. We may differ with reference to the personal characteristics of men; we may differ as to their learning or as to their logic; we may have a super-sensitiveness as to the collocation of words and as to the use of terms. I say to you that I had the same when I was a sinner. [Laughter.] For that reason I heard very little preaching, because I never could hear any that was exactly on my line, as I would have projected it. But none of these things ought to interfere with the matter of co-operation. If the difficulty is merely a matter of methods, your co-operation will correct them. Corrections do not come from holding off and criticising one another and turning upon the preachers, however humble they may be, the guns that should be turned on sin and iniquity. In all

these matters, instead of asking "Who is he?" "Where does he come from?" "What church does he represent?" "What grammar did he study?" ask, "Is he consecrated to Christ?" "Does he mean well to this community?" "Has Christ ever honored his work?" If so, go in with him, heart and soul, to bring souls to Christ. If you give men as they come among you a hearty invitation and hearty co-operation, I say to you that unless all the signs fail, you will get good results. I know that there are these differences of opinion and of judgment, but I know, too, that they do not count in the great estimate of God. Men may call a man a crank. What difference does that make, provided the crank makes the world move the length of his life nearer to God? Let men call him a crank. Let us not be dismayed or discouraged or discomfited by ridicule. Let us put our whole heart into the work. We are not measuring our work by the judgments of the ungodly. We can afford to say, as was said of Wendell Phillips—that "fanatic"—when he went forth to try to relieve suffering and to give liberty to those who were bound:

"The insects hissed,
Till he taught them to understand,
That the highest crimes may be written
In the highest law of the land.
'Disturber' and 'Dreamer,' the Philistines cried,
While he preached an ideal creed,
Till they learned that the men who had changed the world,
With the world have disagreed;
That the remnant is right, when the masses
Are led like sheep to the pen,
And the instinct of equity slumbers
Till roused by instinctive men."

And when these instinctive men come, fired by the Holy Ghost, lifting aloft the cross of Christ, in which sign we conquer, flock to it as loyal soldiers of Jesus Christ, the Captain of your salvation, and men will follow in the train that they know means victory in the end.

MR. DODGE: I wish to say one thing very solemnly to those who are here as delegates. We have been listening to these addresses with interest. We have studied our perils, our resources, our opportunities to work for the Master. We have studied also something of the methods. Now before we go home we want to come

very close to God, our Father, to ask what is our personal duty. It is very easy for us to say, "Yes, this work is good;" "Yes, we, in our town or state, ought to co-operate;" "Yes, we hope this will be taken up by somebody." The question to-night is one of personal consecration—"What is my individual duty?" "What am I doing as a citizen of this country—for which Christ died—to help on this great work?" I do hope that all those who are here, and who have been touched and helped, as I am sure we all have been, will be willing to come to-night, so that we may have a meeting of real personal consecration to the Master. Let us see our duty, and then work in the light of that duty and of our conscience.

DR. STRONG: We will now hear for five minutes from the Rev. Dr. Daniel L. Graham, of Philadelphia who represents the Free Baptists of this country.

REV. DANIEL. L. GRAHAM, D. D.

Taking the sentiment of Dr. Lewis that was quoted this morning—some fifteen years ago I reached the conclusion that denominations among Baptists was a wrong thing. There are about one million three hundred thousand Baptists in this country known by various names different from the name "Baptists." There are the Free Baptists, the Disciples, the Church of God, Dunkers, etc. Some twelve years ago I set myself to work to gather these into one. In Philadelphia, we have succeeded in forming a co-operative union. We forget the names of the past. We are now called "United Christians," and this work, as we learn by the newspapers, is going on throughout the length and breadth of the land. I simply rise to say that a work that seemed so far off a half century ago is now pressing upon us, and, by the grace of God, we have seen the beginning of success. I only wished to state this fact, and add that I heartily indorse everything that it has been my privilege to hear in this Conference, regarding co-operation.

EVENING SESSION

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9.

Mr. James Wood, of the Society of Friends, conducted the devotional services.

Mr. Dodge: Through all the hours and services of these three days, our hearts and prayers have all been toward this evening. We can talk easily of duty. What are we willing to do? I hope to-night that the tender presence of our dear Lord will be here by his Spirit. I hope we can hear his voice in that prayer for us and for all who love him. "As the father hath sent me into the world, even so have I sent you into the world." That commission is for each one of us as individuals The dangers that are around us, the magnificent opportunities for meeting them, and the grand opening which God has given us, make us glad to live in these times of his rapid working. We have been walking together with hearts aflame and voices in accord. To-night we come down to the close question of conscience, "What is my duty and responsibility? I have been here and listened to all these words of wisdom and help and encouragement and guidance; and I am going home. What am I going to do in my community when I get there? What does Christ expect of me as his servant?" All things are possible to us when God is helping us. No one here is so weak or feeble, or has so little influence, but that, with God behind him, he can change the tone and character of the whole community in which he lives. May we have that spirit of consecration to-night. May there be a thorough searching into our hearts as to our openness and readiness for the Holy Spirit. Christ is waiting for us. Are we ready to open our hearts and consecrate our lives to him to-night? This will be the burden of our evening service. I now have great pleasure in introducing to you Rev. Dr. Gordon, of Boston, who will address us on "The Individual Responsibility growing out of our Perils and Opportunities."

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY GROWING OUT OF OUR PERILS AND OPPORTUNITIES.

ADDRESS BY REV. A. J. GORDON, D. D., OF BOSTON.

John Foster used to say, "Power to its last particle is duty." It is a faithful saying and worthy of all consideration. Without ability there can be no responsibility, as without a substance there can be no shadow. And even with the substance there can be no shadow except there be sunlight to cast it; and with ability there can be no clear sense of responsibility except we stand in "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God." Therefore what we need is not a revival of ethics, as some are saying, but a revival of vital piety. For men will not recognize their stewardship to Christ until they recognize Christ's lordship over them, and it is written in Scripture that "no man can say that Jesus is Lord but by the Holy Ghost."

Now we are accustomed to say that responsibility is measured by opportunity. That is certainly one of its measures. But there are two factors necessary to constitute an opportunity, viz., the ability and the occasion. There may be the ability without the occasion, or there may be the occasion without the ability; in either case we have but half an opportunity which cannot evoke any very great responsibility. But where both are present in large degree—ability and occasion—the upper and nether millstones of accountability have come together, and woe be to the Christian who gets between them. For if now corn is not ground into bread for a suffering world, the owner of the corn will be ground; if he does not give his substance he shall be in peril of losing his soul. It is estimated that *eight billions of dollars* are treasured up in the hands of Protestant Christians to-day in the United States, a sum so great that it staggers our mathematics to compute it. That is one single element of our ability. Into our doors, the untaught and unre-

generated populations of the Old World are pouring by the hundreds of thousands every year, while through our doors we can look out upon every nation of the globe as a field ripe for missionary harvest. Here is our occasion. It is enough to startle one into alarm, to think of the stupendous obligation created by the conjunction of these two elements.

But I think that another measure of our responsibility is *the present day perils;* for those perils have their remedy in the eternal provision of the gospel which we carry in the New Testament.

Have you ever noticed how largely in the beginning the truths of the gospel took their shape and expression from prevailing errors and objections? As in minting the coin, the gold is driven into all the ruts and cavities of the die, so in uttering the gospel Christ matched and molded it to the errors and objections and unbeliefs of his age. Therefore the gospel will ever be found to be adapted to meet prevailing errors since it was originally shaped to those errors. Thus also with Christianity as a whole—it was run in the matrix of human sins; it was shaped to the needs and yearnings of the human race. Therefore I know the gospel is divine because it is so wondrously human; because it fits into all the turns and folds of man's need. Christianity does not answer the woes and sorrows and yearnings of our race, therefore, with harsh negations, but with gracious affirmations. She gives what our restless humanity demands, only in a higher and better form than they dream of.

I. If we look at the great laboring class of society, we hear from some of its representatives the impatient murmurings of *Communism.*

I know of no answer to such murmurings which is at once so subduing and so potent as the divine communism which is presented in the New Testament. I open the first chapter of the church's history and I read this remarkable statement concerning the primitive Christians: "*And all that believed were together, and had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods ana parted them to all as every man had need.*" "*Neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own.*" (Acts ii. 44, 45.) At once I hear the current comment on this text —that it represents only a provisional and temporary condition of things and that it was not intended for a permanent model. Yes!

That is the way we are apt to look upon ideals which are too high for our faith or too hard for our selfishness. It is the exegesis of covetousness and self-interest that has largely fixed this interpretation upon this text. As a matter of fact there is not the slightest intimation anywhere that this feature of the primitive church was intended to be transitory. And in a time when it is necessary for us to call out our reserves, I am profoundly grateful for this lofty and divinely appointed example of Christian communism. Of course in translating this example into practical experience we must take into account all the modifying texts such as "*If any will not work, neither shall he eat*," which excommunicates from our community all the idle and shiftless; and "*If any man provide not for his own, especially for those of his own house, he has denied the faith and is worse than an infidel*," which enjoins upon us the duty of making decent provision for the family. And what we shall find as the resultant is this: that the church according to its primitive ideal is the one institution in which every man's wealth is under mortgage to every man's want, every man's success to every man's service; so that no laborer in any part of the field should lack the means for prosecuting his work so long as any fellow-disciple in any other part of the field has ability to supply his lack. This I believe is the divine communism on which the church was founded, and by which it was intended to be perpetuated. And if we could present this fresh, unsullied ideal in active operation, to the discontented working classes to-day it would be the most powerful answer possible to their bitter complaint of the selfishness and unsympathy of men.

A thoughtful senator, speaking from wide experience, recently said: "So long as it is possible for a single man to hold a hundred million dollars of property, and to wield the vast power which such wealth puts into his hands, so long will there be discontent among the laboring classes—a discontent which will inevitably find expression in the doctrines of communism and anarchy." This is certainly no extravagant statement. Two centuries ago quaint Thomas Fuller said: "If any suppose that society can be peaceful while one half is prospered and the other half pinched, let him try whether he can laugh with one side of his face while he weeps with the other." I am not concerning myself now, however, with those outside the church, but those within.

As surely as darkness follows sunset will the alienation of the

masses follow sanctimonious selfishness in the church. If a Christian's motto is, "Look out for number one," then let him look out for estrangement and coldness on the part of number two. The church millionaire stands at exact antipodes to the church millennial, and in proportion as the former flourishes, the latter will be hopelessly deferred. It is not an orthodox creed which repels the masses, but an orthodox greed. Let a Christian man stand forth conspicuously in any community, as honest as the law of Moses, and, yet let it be seen that he is building up an immense fortune by grinding the faces of the poor, and compelling them to turn the grindstone for him while he does it, and he will wean a whole generation from the gospel. The reckless "I don't care for the church," which is coming up in ever-loudening chorus from the poorer classes, is but the echo of the stolid and selfish "I do care for myself and my own, that we may live luxuriously and fare sumptuously," which is the undeniable expression of so many Christian lives. We have no power to prevent men of the world from heaping up colossal fortunes if they wish to do so. But our gospel plainly forbids *Christians* to do it. "*Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth*," said Jesus to his disciples for all time—a text which it requires no very skillful exegesis to explain; but which it would require a very ingenious exegesis to explain away. It is the violation of this plain command on the part of multitudes of Christians which constitutes one of the greatest perils of the American church to-day.

God is very emphatic in condemning this sin, saying, "Ye have robbed me in tithes and offerings, even this whole nation." And this theft cannot be condoned by a *post mortem* restitution. God has assessed tithes upon the living, not legacies upon the dead, and if wealthy Christians insist that their dues to God shall be paid from the skeleton fingers of a corpse instead of from the living fingers of a man, they rob their giving of its greatest value.

I wonder not that President Wayland used to condemn strongly what he called "a long-tailed benevolence." It is the least effective form of charity, for the circulation is always feeblest at the extremities. If the Christian is to bless humanity with a warm flesh-and-blood sympathy, let him extend to men the help of a living hand, and not merely touch them with the cold tail of a residuary legacy.

Dr. McGlynn told the exact truth when he recently declared

that the corruption of the church is traceable to these two things —Roman gold and Roman purple. From the days of Constantine that corruption has gone on. As fast as the church became a coffer for hoarding coveted wealth she became a coffin for enshrining a dead Christianity. And to-day the scandal of Christendom is exhibited to our gaze in a pope claiming to be the true and only vicar of Christ, living in a palace with six hundred attendants, enjoying a personal income of a million and a half dollars annually, while upon his approaching anniversary the kings of the earth are proposing to vie with each other in sending him sumptuous presents, many of which will be wrung out of the grinding poverty of their subjects. Oh, if according to the dream of devout Catholics of the Middle Ages some *Papa Angelicus* were to arise, an angel-pope who should fling out this vast and prodigal church wealth among his penniless subjects while he himself once more took up the primitive commission and went forth without purse or scrip, what an "anti-poverty" argument would that be for men and angels to witness! I say all this not to cast gratuitous contempt on Rome, but to bring a solemn warning to America. That *eight billions of money* hoarded up in the hands of the Protestant Christians of the United States constitutes a tremendous danger. I cannot see how the church can keep hold of it and be able at the same time to take hold of the million hands of poverty and illiteracy and spiritual destitution which are stretched out for help. An eminent clergyman of England has described his visit to the death-bed of a wealthy parishioner. As he knelt by his side he twice requested him to give him his hand while he prayed, which he strangely declined to do. But as soon as the death gasp was over and the blankets were turned down, the reason was apparent. It was found that both hands were holding his safe-key in their death grip, so that he had no hand of fellowship to extend to the minister praying for his soul. Where are the Church's hands to-day, when the greatest opportunity ever brought within the reach of any generation of Christians is just within her grasp; opportunity for the salvation and shaping of a new race in a new world; and of recovering the old races in the old world from their long bondage to death? Is it possible that with the memory of Him "who though rich, for our sakes became poor," ever before us we should be found impotent to take hold of this opportunity, because we could not let go of our safe-keys?

Here is a momentous question on which both the safety of the church and her hold upon the masses largely depends. In this world as well as in the world to come, there is an impassable gulf between Dives and Lazarus. If the church deliberately chooses the company of Dives, putting on purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously every day, she cannot keep with Lazarus. The attempt may be made to effect conciliation by tossing biscuits across the gulf; or investing in second-class cars called "mission churches" for those on that side who can be persuaded to ride in them. But this will not do. It is not money that is wanted so much as fellowship to bring the disaffected masses into sympathy with the church. The word *Koinonia*, community, or having in common, is a great characteristic word of the New Testament. The church is a heavenly commonwealth in which there is a community of life with the Head, and a community of goods with the members, and a community of sympathy with the world. If only the church could once more stand forth, transfigured in its primitive ideal, it would be certain to repeat its primitive conquests. Let the ministers of our great metropolitan churches who enjoy munificent salaries begin the reform by becoming like the chief apostle, poor that they may make many rich; and let the millionaire pew-holders follow their lead by parting their goods to such as have need, and see if the growing spirit of communism would not be speedily arrested, not by the counter-irritant of ridicule, but by the emollient of Christ-like example.

2. If we look to the upper and best educated classes of society we are confronted with a wide-spread and growing *Agnosticism*. And what is Agnosticism? It is culture ending in ignorance, as the highest mountain peaks are lost in clouds. I would not deride or pour contempt on this manifestation, lest I might be guilty of what an old writer has called "beating a cripple over the head with his own crutches." A loud-mouthed and boastful infidelity may awaken our contempt, but a lame faith stretching out its hands towards the great mysteries of life and eternity deserves to be pitied rather than pelted. And so I have delighted to quote to men of this school the words of Scripture concerning our Great High Priest, "Who can have compassion on the ignorant—*the agnoousin*, the agnostics."—"Who can have compassion upon the agnostics and upon those that are out of the way."

But how shall the church meet this growing sentiment without the church?

I may surprise you when I answer that at least one way to meet it is with an humble Christian agnosticism.

Christianity is not a system of philosophy, but a revelation to faith. The attempt to survey and map out its doctrines according to our logic-charts has always proved injurious. If theologians insist on being wise above what is written, the natural reaction will be that neologians will be ignorant below what is written. I am a most decided believer in a positive gospel; and concerning everything that has been revealed I consider we may be just as sure as concerning the conclusions of mathematics. But not everything which we desire to know has been revealed. The gospel exhibits a divine reserve, as well as a divine revelation; and the same voice of the great Teacher which declares concerning one realm of truth, "*To you it is given to know*," declares concerning another realm, "*It is not for you to know*."

Now while upon such questions, as that of the resurrection of the body at Christ's second coming, there is a flood of light from Scripture, upon the state and employments of the soul between death and the resurrection hardly a ray of light has been thrown; and while the most positive information has been vouchsafed as to what God will do for the heathen who hear and believe the gospel, he has nowhere exactly informed us what will be the ground and method of his dealings with those heathen who have never heard the gospel. And yet such minute survey of this *terra incognita* of the intermediate state has been attempted; and such learned conclusions concerning this mystery of the heathen's accountability have been put forth that great religious bodies have been set in battle array and vast missionary interests have been imperiled upon these issues. If the most learned man in the whole fraternity of theologians had long ago faced these questions with a positive and dogmatic "*I don't know*," he would have been worthy to be counted "a prophet and more than a prophet." For it is the glory of a prophet that he can handle themes and deliver messages the full scope of which he does not presume to understand. (1 Pet. 1. 10, 11.)

Now it has been the misfortune of Christian philosophers from the beginning until now, that they have made theology "dark with excess of light." The heresies which have afflicted the church have almost without exception been invented by learned scholars; and the speculations which have blighted the faith of believers

have generally been hatched and brooded in the theological schools. The great mass of plain and practical Christians have as a rule kept the faith in its purity. For they have been content to believe more than they know; and to accept more than they could understand. Reason and faith are like the two compartments of an hour glass; when one is full the other is empty. Those who have been determined to *know* all things, revealed and unrevealed, have often thereby reduced their faith to the minimum, and in so doing they have contracted the very faculty by which we are to apprehend God.

Now what I am urging is this: that just as sumptuous wealth in the hands of the church has always been a curse, begetting among the common people a moral and material poverty of the most abject sort; so a sumptuous learning in the schools of theology has proved a curse to the faith and piety of Christians by inducing a contrary extreme of deep religious poverty. This is exactly what agnosticism is—the spiritual pauperism which stands over against the theological and philosophical wealth with which it has been attempted to endow the gospel of Christ. Paul declares that in giving the gospel God "destroyed the wisdom of the wise." If this wisdom of the wise gets installed in our theological chairs and presides there, it will in turn destroy the gospel. It is written that "when the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." If the wisdom of this world attempts to reverse this order, and to please men by the learnedness of preaching it will darken and bewilder those that would believe. Here, I solemnly conceive, is one of the most serious perils to which our Protestant ministry is exposed to-day, that it shall be impoverished by excess of learning; that instead of going forth with the humble equipment of the word of God which is "the sword of the Spirit," it shall attach the first importance to German learning and to Greek philosophy. Having enjoyed the best advantages of the schools, for which I am devoutly thankful, I am perpetually humbled to see how much better many of the unschooled lay-preachers of our time can handle the Scriptures than the mass of clergymen who have passed through the theological curriculum. I do not undervalue the seminary in saying this, but beg that we should consider the point at which it is most conspicuously failing. I would wish, for one, that no more chairs might be endowed in our theological institutions for teaching the

relations of Christianity to science; that those courses in polemics which stuff men's heads full of the history of all the heresies which have afflicted the church from the beginning, might be shortened more and more; and the time thus saved be given to the one thing of studying the Bible and practicing with the "Sword of the Spirit."

Magnificent, and far surpassing all that has gone before, is the electric light; but the shadow which it casts is the darkest and densest that ever yet fell upon the earth. And I believe that in New England, where the light of philosophic Christianity has been the most brilliant, and the intellectual lenses and reflectors for its diffusion the most clear and polished, the shadows of agnosticism and atheism fall most darkly.

Oh that our teachers of theology were content to know less, that they might know more; that they were less endued with the spirit of modern thought and more deeply baptized by that Spirit that has been sent to us "that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God."

The acute and eloquent Robert Hall set it forth as the sum of his experience, that power in the pulpit depends neither on "refinement of thought nor subtlety of reason." And then he added, "You have only to draw your instructions immediately from the Bible, imbibe deeply the mind of Christ, and let his doctrine inspire your heart, *and your situation in comparison with other speakers will resemble the Angel of the Apocalypse who was seen standing in the sun.*"

3. If we look now to the lower and criminal classes, we are confronted with that most perilous of social perils, *strong drink.* The loudest appeal that comes from its victims is the cry for protection. Not permission for this pestilence to walk in darkness and this destruction to waste at noonday, but prohibition is the most earnest plea. The recent instance of a gentleman who is the subject of an uncontrollable periodic appetite advertising in the papers that he would prosecute to the extent of the law any one who should sell him strong drink, is a typical case. Not only the drunkards' wives and children, but the drunkards themselves by thousands in their lucid moments, cry out for protection against the liquid fiend. And looking at it simply as citizens, it would seem clear that they should have what they ask, if Mr. Gladstone's maxim is true, that it is the duty of the government to make it as

easy as possible for its subjects to do right, and as difficult as possible for them to do wrong.

But I am speaking for the church now. And I am free to say that unless she is deliberately ready to make "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," her voice ought to be unanimous for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of strong drink. If that were her voice, government and legislators and congressmen would not be long in hearing of it and acting accordingly. It should be enough for the Christian that his Bible says, "*Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that puttest thy bottle to him and makest him drunken.*" For when God says "Woe," no government has a right to say "Weal." If, then, we are so far gone in apostacy that nation and state and city are found playing the *rôle* of Tetzel and peddling indulgences to these man-slayers and home-destroyers, whether under the name of high license or low license, it is certainly time for Luther to be heard from in every Christian pulpit throughout the land. To me it is as clear as day what the voice of the church ought to be on this question, unless she is ready to be left behind in working righteousness, to be out-moraled by the moralists and out-humanized by the humanitarians.

I tremble to think what a half-century more of legalized license of the liquor traffic will do for our country if it shall be permitted. And my apprehension is not merely in regard to the ruin and havoc it will bring to the drunkards' homes; but especially concerning its effects upon sober Christians, in debauching their consciences and confusing their ethics. When I tell you that there are cities in Germany where prostitution is not only licensed, but made so respectable that the candidates for the harlot's profession are required to bring a certificate that they have been confirmed in the Established Church before their permit can be granted, you can see what the principle of license leads to. If we have not reached this depth of shame in our country we are on the way to it, when ministers of Christ are found riding in Tetzel's indulgence wagon and lending their sanction to the auctioning off of licenses to the rumsellers—"high licenses" it may be—which are as respectable as the confirmation certificates just referred to, but which lead just as surely to the lowest hell.

I know, of course, the defense which is made of such permission; "Men will sell strong drink, therefore regulate the traffic."

Nowhere in Christendom is the church called to lend a hand in regulating wrong-doing. It is for Christians to resist evil to their utmost; if then the wrong goes on, let it go branded with the trade-mark of the devil, and not legalized by the revenue stamp of the state. Neither is there any argument for the Christian in the reiterated statement that law must not be in advance of public sentiment; and that until the people are ready to enforce prohibition the evil must have legalized permission. For does not our Scripture make it clear that law is the standard of right, even though it may not at once establish the right; that "by the law is the knowledge of sin," even when it is not the immediate destruction of sin?

A great theologian has declared in memorable words that "of law no less can be acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God." Alas for the ethics of the Christian church, when she assents to the proposition that law has its seat in the bosom of the people! Which means, being interpreted, that Mt. Sinai must test the public sentiment of the worshipers of the golden calf on the plains below, before she presumes to put into the decalogue the prohibition, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image." Here is a kind of Antinomianism at which the church may well be alarmed, the theory which makes law the thermometer of public opinion, rising or falling in its enactments with the changing temperature of the times, instead of making it the theometer—if I may coin a word—the God-measure which shall indicate to the people the eternal and unchangeable standard of divine righteousness. The first question in regard to law is not, "What can be enforced?" but, "What is right?" The Scriptures clearly pronounce drunkard-making and robbery and prostitution to be sins. In trying to resist these evils, we may find out "what the law cannot do in that it is weak through the flesh." But if a prohibitory statute is not able to stop these things, it can make criminals of those who practice them, and this is of immense importance for enabling the innocent and uninstructed to "discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not."

Then let the church make answer to the needs and perils of society, according to her own high principles. Let her exhibit her primitive ideal of having in common, to those who are clamoring for a community of goods. Let her present her own doctrine of believing without knowing to those who have been blinded by over-

much light, and let her hold up God's "Thou shalt not" to those who need the restraints of law to help them to do good when evil is present with them.

After Dr. Gordon's address, President Gates, of Rutger's College, led the Conference in prayer.

Mr. Dodge: We are now going to have a series of short addresses directly to the point of our evening's work. I hope all our friends here will remember how easy it is to awaken in one's own heart a glow of sentiment that comes from the enthusiasm of numbers, and from the earnest pleadings of those who talk to us. That false sentiment we do not want to-night. We want to have the truth come home to us with a practical force that shall influence our wills. God has something practical for each one of us to do for our brethren who are suffering and dying about us. I will call first on Rev. Dr. Van Dyke, of New York.

REV. H. J. VAN DYKE, D. D.

When that fiery cross which was the symbol of warfare in ancient Scotland appeared shining upon the brow of some distant hill, beneath the gloom of night, the question was, not who would admire and applaud that flaming signal, but who would first answer its summons, and spring forth to snatch the torch from the hand of its bearer and carry it on its mission.

The question to-night is not, who has heard and admired these words which have been spoken to us here, but who will answer to the call, "The Son of God goes forth to war. Who follows in his train?" Who springs to take the cross, at cost of personal sacrifice, at cost of pain, of suffering, of reproach, or whatever it may be; at cost of long, weary, distasteful, monotonous labor? Who springs to take the cross of the warfare of Christ and carry it forth, that its call may be answered, not only here, but with a clarion voice in every corner of our land. I tell you, Christian friends, the practical purposes of this Alliance are not in danger from outward opposition, but they are in danger from fat, supine, inert, comfortable indifference.

I would illustrate. We have had a good deal of talk here about the political dangers of our country. I live in a village called

New York. [Laughter.] They have a street there called Fifth Avenue, supposed to run through the center of the country. How many people do you suppose voted at the last election, on Fifth Avenue, between 40th and 68th streets—a distance of a mile and a half? Just twenty-eight! The peril of our citizenship is in the men who do not care enough for their country to vote. The peril of the church is in Christians who do not care enough for Christ to work for him.

Now, what do we want from this Conference? We want what the child in the Sunday-school said was wanted from the speaker who got up very late. The speaker said "Well children, what shall I say to you?" A little boy, away back, said "Say 'Amen.'" What we want from this Conference is an "Amen." But there are two kinds of Amens. There is the "Amen" of a departing congregation, and there is the "Amen" that is like the tramp of an advancing army coming forward to battle. That is the kind of Amen we want from this gathering. That can be given by every church.

We believe here, as has been so well said to-day, that all churches are equal. All churches *are* equal. No, I am wrong. There is one church that does not stand on the same basis as the others. You may go into the High Church if you like, you may go into the Free Church if you like, you may go into the Low Church if you like, you may go into the Broad Church if you like, but I beg you, for your own soul's sake, and for Christ's sake, do not go into the *Hard* Church.

The Hard Church is the church which reduces theology to an arithmetical calculation, and makes religion a matter of personal salvation, whereas religion is a matter of doing the will of the Lord Jesus Christ. I see that Hard Church floating on the sea of human life, dark, gloomy, repellent, and into it I see the Elder Brother of the parable clambering to save his life. He goes in and shuts the door behind him, and that little ark floats out over the waters. No joyous song comes from those windows. There are no enterprises of rescue; there is no hand stretched forth to save the perishing; and, unlovely, it floats among the other ships that crowd the sea. I see them drawing nearer the heavenly shore, and as every ship comes in, I see the throng of angels rush down to welcome it with shouts and joyous songs. Some come in with cordage rent, sails torn, masts shattered, and the vessel almost dismantled. To

those most crowded with wretched passengers, who have suffered most from the fury of the storm, the welcome is most joyous. Now, at last, the Hard Church comes into port, but the angels that come to welcome her are silent. There are no songs upon their lips. Slowly they drag her on the shore, and the doors are opened, and those amazed travelers step forth. They are saved, but saved alone. Saved, but saved without the sweetest joy of heaven. They have found a place, but, oh ! it is the lowest place, on the outskirts of the throng, far from the King in his beauty. There those elder brothers, who cared only to save their own souls, at last learn the lesson which Christ would have taught them here on earth if they had heard him—that he that loveth, dwelleth in God and God in him.

MR. DODGE: I am going to ask a dear friend of a great many in this room to say a few words to us. God, in his wonderful providence, took away from him, years ago, the sight of his earthly eyes, only that his heart and brain might work the sweeter and stronger and more constantly for his fellow-men. He has been an inspiration and help to me, as I know he has been to a great many, and I am sure he will say a word that will be of great value to us. I am going to ask Mr. Thane Miller, of Cincinnati, to occupy a few minutes. [Applause.]

MR. H. THANE MILLER.

May I ask that you simply applaud in your hearts, because I want to ask every man and woman in this large audience, with the President's permission, to unite in a prayer of song, just as softly as you can sing it. Let every one sing, from the heart, this prayer, and mean it:

"Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee."

Can you sing these next lines?

"E'en though it be a cross
That raiseth me.
Still all my song shall be,
Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee."

The verse having been sung, Mr. Miller continued:

Amen. Even so may it be. Do you know, dearly beloved, that Jesus, the Master of assemblies, is here in deed and in truth, at this very moment? Do the eyes of your spirits see Jesus? Do you feel his presence? Do you recognize his touch, beloved? Do you hear him say to you, as you are sitting for a few last moments upon this mount of privilege, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel?" That is the commission that every clergyman in this house, every layman, every soul here, should hear Jesus giving at this moment. And are we prepared for it? Are these things so, that we have heard in these few days, as to the perils in the church and the perils outside the church? Dear friends, are the remedies we have heard suggested, true remedies? I tell you, my mind has been almost paralyzed as I have thought of these things from the world's standpoint, but it has been a perfect calm when I have thought of them from God's standpoint. For he is able to cure all these diseases, if you and I are willing to be personally consecrated to him. The wealth will pour out, the talent will come to the rescue of the ministers and others, to help them. Everything needed is in God's possession. It is simply that you and I are not consecrated. Are we willing for the consecration to-night?

Dear friends, I do not know where we can find any remedy in any book, in any paper, in any address, equal to the remedy that Jesus Christ proposes. It is simply that we should give ourselves, body, soul and spirit, to him, utterly, to command us. When we do that, his work will prosper in our hearts and in our communities.

REV. C. A. DICKEY, D. D.

Mr. Chairman: I can very truly say that nothing but the duty that you pressed upon me would have allowed me to give consent to break the silence of such a meeting as this. For it does seem to me that, after all that has been said, it has come to the time when the voice is very distinct to be still, and to know that the Lord himself is God. It is very difficult to bring into the utterance of a few sentences, any words that are human that can do

the work expected to be done in these few remaining moments of this last interesting meeting. And yet, I know that the heart of the chairman of this meeting is so deeply impressed and bowed down with a desire that this meeting shall not break up until our hearts have been broken up in the resolve and determination, by the grace of God, and by the help of his promised Spirit, to make the influence of these three days a power, felt outside of the meeting that has been thrilled from hour to hour with these impressive words and with these most impressive themes. And yet we all respond to the words that he himself has uttered more than once in the meeting—that unless God will give us, somehow, the grace and the spirit to make this a consecration meeting, all the other meetings have been held in vain; all the other themes have been discussed in vain; all else that has been done within these walls will be powerless unless God will give us, in answer to our prayers and united desires at this moment, his Spirit.

Ever since he asked me to speak a single word, I have been able to think of but one text in the word of God, and that I have always carried, as a minister of the gospel, for these twenty-five years as a plea to sinners. But it seems to me that God's Spirit has put a new interpretation upon it, and I thought he bade me carry it as a word to saints to-night. And my one word from the word of God to you, my friends, is "Quench not, *quench not*, QUENCH NOT the Spirit of God that is so manifestly in this meeting." But it is a thought enough to distract us; it is a thought that should surely distress us; it is a thought that ought to drive us to our knees—the thought that it is possible that we should be those who would quench the spirit of this sacred conclave that has been held, and this Council that is convened for Christ.

I do not fear the world. It has not power to quench the Spirit of God. I do not fear all these evils and perils that have been brought to our attention. They have not power to quench the Spirit of God; but it seems to me that God, in his word, clearly indicates that we by our indifference can quench it; that we, by unbelief can quench it; that we, by unfaithfulness, can quench it. My prayer with you all is that God will give us the grace not to quench the Spirit of God by any indifference or by any unfaithfulness. Let us remember, my hearers, that the Israelites came once to the very brink of the last river that separated them from the promised land, and went back in defeat and despair, because of

unbelief. Let us remember that they came until they saw the very mountain-tops of the promised land, and went back because of unbelief. Let us try to realize the awful fact, to-night, that it is possible for us, with power enough, to take the world for Christ, for I believe that a quickened church can, to-day, conquer the world; and if we can only be quickened here, as we go home to the many towns, neighborhoods and cities that we represent; if the fire can be taken off this altar that has been kindled with such beauty and fervor and power; if you and I can light our own torches at this altar; and if we can go back with the fire of the Spirit of God that is here; if we will only accept it—then I believe that God will give that victory for which we are praying, and instead of the church being harassed and impaired in its efficiency by its own unbelief, and Christ kept back from his coming by our hardness of heart, I believe we shall hear it, and hear it in all its glory and melody—the song that we are hoping to sing together, the song that will be Christ's own song of victory. God help us to repeat it. I wanted to say but one word—let us not quench the Spirit of God. [Applause.]

Mr. Dodge: With God's help we can do everything. We want him very close to us to-night; and I want to ask you all to bow your heads in a moment of silent prayer, after which the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, of New York, will speak to us.

REV. CHARLES H. PARKHURST, D. D.

My Dear Friends: I am not oppressed by the vastness of the audience, but I am by the terrific solemnity of the hour. I am glad we are come near to the close of these services. I went out at the close of our afternoon addresses, simply burdened, oppressed, distressed, by what had been put upon us in the way of stirring, glowing and inspiring fact. I am glad we are almost through. I have looked forward to this evening with dread. I know how tenderly close this service lies to the heart of our honored President, and to the hearts of those who are associated with him in the management of the work of this Alliance, and it seems to me that the practical results and fruitage of these three days of work and con-

ference together are to be determined by what transpires here this evening.

We have been immensely interested. Now, what is to be the outcome? You know how easy it is to sit in the presence of an orchestra, and to watch, for example, the flutist, if you please, and to be intensely interested in, and to have your eyes tenaciously riveted upon the wonderful digital dexterity of the flutist, and all the time to suppose that your enthusiasm is the enthusiasm of an appreciative musician, yet you may have not the slightest comprehension of that which the musician is doing; you are simply interested in, delighted with, the digital dexterity of the performer; and just in the same way you and I may sit here day after day, for three days or for a week and be delighted with the intellectual acumen of those who have addressed us or who have read papers to us, and all the time be supposing that our hearts are enlisted in the glorious work of united Christian endeavor which this Alliance represents. Yet our hearts may be as hard as flint, as cold as ice.

You know how it is possible that a tender, gracious gospel story out of the very blessed Word itself can be told to a man whose heart is hard; and the tears that roll from his eyes will be as big and as glossy as those that come from the eye of the saint, and he thinks all the time that it is the power of the gospel. Yet it is simply because nature has endowed the hard-hearted man exactly as it has the tender-hearted man—with the possibility of weeping.

Now the question that comes to us, as we come close to the end of the evening of this last great day of the feast, is, not how interested our thoughts have been; not how we have been drawn out intellectually toward those who have spoken to us and have read carefully elaborated essays to us; not how many tears we have shed, as the tender, touching, soul-stirring truths have been presented to us; but how far has it got down into our hearts, and how much of the disposition of self-sacrifice has been wrought in us. That is the point.

These theories that have been presented to us, we believe, are true. We have enjoyed the theories. We have delighted in the idea of inter-denominational or undenominational work. But who is to do the work? No blessings can come without sacrifice. Why, the great central idea of our glorious gospel is sacrifice. The cross of Jesus Christ is the core fact of the gospel. There has nothing been wrought in the world for 6,000 years that has not

been paid for. There is no such thing as gratuity. Everything has its cost-mark written in characters more or less legible. Look back through the whole later history of our world. Go back to the time of Christ, and you will observe that every result that has been wrought has been paid for. Every uplift that has been accomplished in society has been achieved by means of the shedding of blood. We sometimes think it more or less open to criticism—the singular sacrificial customs that characterized the old Hebrew people. Yet these old rites, singular and unique as they were, every one of them clustered along the straight line that binds the crucified Lord with the Lamb slain, from the foundation of the world. We cannot get away from the principle involved in the sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. If it was necessary for him to die in order that the world might be uplifted, it is necessary for you and me to expend ourselves in order that we may uplift the world.

Now, the solemn question, the great practical home-question that comes to you and me to-night is this: As I go back to my field of work, as you go back to your field of labor, how much are you willing to sacrifice—how much are you willing to burn in order that the world may be brightened? How much are you willing to be self-impoverished in order that the world may be made richer? That is the great question. That is the practical question we have to answer to ourselves. There is no gain without cost. And, dear friends, before God and humanity, the measure of your power and of my power is according to the personal individual genius that you and I have for self-sacrifice and for martyrdom. [Applause.]

MR. DODGE: I am going to ask a layman who knows most thoroughly what practical work is—Mr. E. B. Monroe, of Connecticut—to say a few words.

MR. E. B. MONROE.

MR. CHAIRMAN and FELLOW-CHRISTIANS: I see the topic begins with the words "Individual Responsibility." That means every one of us. You, sir, have told us that the duty, the burden, the responsibility, is upon us from the Master, that when we leave these gatherings we should go to our homes to work. Now, I could go

one step further. We should go to work for our fellow-men for the glory of God; but if, as days pass by, we find nothing coming from our thought, if we find that our arms hang down, and our feet are idle, and do not run the way of the work of the Lord, then I think we have another duty—the duty to search our hearts to know the reason why. One fine spring morning, riding through the plain from the beautiful Lake of Tiberius, on the way, by Cana of Galilee, to the home of our Saviour at Nazareth, I met a Bedouin armed, his gun upon his shoulder, a weapon of beauty to me, a weapon of power, as I thought. Desiring to possess such an example of their fire-arms, I bought the gun. The ramrod test told us, as my dragoman tried it, that there was in the gun the bullet and the powder. We touched the flint, we put the powder in the pan, but with all we could do, the gun would not go off. We tried it with a match-lock and it would not go off. By and by I took it to the gun-smith, and, unscrewing at the breech, we found that an enemy of the Bedouin had rammed home a solid wad before the powder and before the ball, and the fire could not go through.

Now we have the powder and the ball. We have been told our peril here to-night; we have been told our power. There is the spark of the Holy Spirit always ready. Why do we not do the work for which our Maker made us? I say then, as the one word only, that when we have gone home, and when we find our work does not go on, let us search our hearts and find out what the enemy of souls has rammed down so that the spark cannot come to the powder—whether it be our selfishness, our indolence, or our fear of the face of men; whether it be our lack of faith; let us find it out, or else we shall be useless in the Master's service.

I believe this is the message: Individual Responsibility, the work of all of us, the work of each of us, to do what we can to meet the peril, to save our fellow-men; and if we do not work, then we should go down upon our knees before God and search our hearts, and find out what is in the way. Let us all, as we go to our homes, ask ourselves, "Are we doing the work for which our Master placed us here?"

MR. DODGE: We will ask our friend, Dr. King, of New York, to say a word, following his paper of yesterday—a word of inspiration and help to us, as we go back to our homes.

REV. J. M. KING, D. D.

MR. PRESIDENT: The first sessions of this Conference were devoted to perils. But I have noticed in the entire progress of the discussions under other divisions of the work, and even down to this afternoon, when we were reaching the remedies, that there has been more said about perils than about everything else.

I have been asking myself the question, as I looked out into the face of this concourse to-night, "What peril?" "Why all this fuss about peril?" "What does it mean?" "Is it that multitudes of people are living in uncomfortable circumstances?" "Is it that distress comes to homes that can exist but a little time anyway, and then the distress ends?"

No, my brethren. This awful fact presses home to my soul to-night; it is the peril of loss of soul to these people that we want to reach. That is the peril. And Brother Parkhurst has told us that to remove the peril cost the shedding of the precious blood of the only-begotten Son of God.

The late President Finney said if he could have a thousand men endowed with ordinary gifts of intellect and heart, who believed with all their being that the world was lost without the shedding of blood, he could bring the world to the foot of the cross. The thought I want to impress upon my own heart and upon your hearts as you go out to-night from this wondrous Convention, is the fact that we are to carry the knowledge of salvation by blood to the perishing millions that are about us. That is the solution of the problem.

How utterly base and insignificant are the petty differences that divide us, when we stand in the presence of a dying world, to tell them how to be saved!

One night, a few years ago, in one of my pastorates in New York, there came to my home a very degraded man, who said to me, "Come, come quickly; there is a woman dying over here that wants counsel of a priest." When I went with him, it was to one of the most degraded sections of the city, where fallen women congregate. When I reached the place, I found that couriers had been

sent in different directions, and I found a Presbyterian clergyman and a Roman Catholic priest by the side of the dying woman. As I entered the room, the priest said to me, "We have been talking to her. You talk to her now." After putting a few simple, direct questions to the dying soul, I said to her, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and you shall be saved." Almost in a moment there came into her face a transfigured look. But in the hour and article of death, which came in about thirty minutes from the time of my entering the room, the power of her early education asserted itself over her, and she thought she could not die in safety without the last ministrations of the church of Rome. She called for extreme unction. But the priest saw that she was dying, and that whatever was to be done, had to be done quickly. He said to her, "Do you believe that the blood of Jesus Christ saves you?" "Oh, yes," she said, "I believe it." "Then," said he, "never mind about extreme unction. When you get up to the gates of glory and meet Peter, and he asks you what is your title of admission, look him in the face and say, 'The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth me from all sin.' He will understand it, and he will let you in."

In a home of extreme poverty that I am accustomed to visit, lies a blind hunchback. She does not seem to be able to do much for the uplifting of a fallen race, but she writes a little poetry once in a while, and she once put a piece in my hand which, when I got into the horse-car, I read. You may call it very poor poetry, but I call it very good gospel, and if we can carry it in our hearts and into our lives, as the benison of this last hour of the Conference, touched by the Spirit of God, hell will wail and heaven rejoice.

Hunchback as she was, she felt that she must be doing something for the Lord. [Applause]. What is the claim of God on me, therefore, who have at least decent physical and intellectual powers? The verses ran like this:

"I must be doing something for the weary and the sad,
I must give forth the love that makes my heart so glad;
For God so fills my spirit with a joy that passeth show,
I fain would do his bidding in the only way I know.
So to suffering and to sorrow, I shall always give my heart,
And pray to God that every day I may some good impart,
Some little act of kindness, some simple word of cheer,
To make some drooping heart rejoice, or stay some falling tear.
And when I've crossed the river, and passed its waters o'er,

And feel that some will miss me upon the other shore,
My grateful spirit ever shall bless the Lord divine,
Who crowns the humblest efforts of a human love like mine."

[Applause.]

MR. DODGE: If a blind hunchback can ring out such a note of cheer and gladness in work, what ought we to do? We shall now be glad to hear Rev. Dr. Bates, of Boston, for a few moments.

REV. L. B. BATES, D. D.

MR. PRESIDENT: I do not know that I care about hearing another word in relation to any theory. I would like action. At the back of one of our capes, four years ago this very day, about 10 o'clock in the morning, the signal gun was heard. The captain of the life-boat sounded his trumpet and his men rushed to the boat. Three times they pushed her out into the surf, and three times she came back. The fourth time they were successful. They rowed out in the snow-storm, but found the sea so rough that it was with great danger that they could board the wreck. There were just six men and the captain in the life-boat, and eight men holding on to the wreck. Twice the men in the life-boat rowed around the wreck. One of the men said, "Captain, what shall we do?" He said, "At the next sea I shall put the boat on the wreck. Then, every man of you save a man." But it was asked, "What will become of the other man—there are eight of them." The captain replied, "God will take care of him." At the next sea he put the boat on the raft (for the wreck had become a raft), and every man pulled a man into the boat, and the eighth man jumped in with them. They rowed through the breakers to the shore. They put them into the Humane House and carefully nursed them. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon a rocket went up just about on the same shoal, and the captain said, "Men, there is another wreck out there; we can't see it, but there are men perishing." The men went to work once more, took the boat down to the surf, and four times the boat came back. Then the men straightened up and said, "Captain, back of these hills are our wives and children; if we go again, to-morrow they

may be widows and fatherless. "Yes," said the captain, "I understand that, but those men out there have wives and children, and if we do not go, there will be other widows and fatherless children." He sprang into his boat and they went out again and saved fifteen men and brought them on shore, and watched them through the night. The next morning, the wives and children came from back of the hills, and telegrams went all over New England, announcing what these men had done; and there came back telegrams from the governors of two of our states, sending their congratulations to those brave men for saving citizens of their states.

We have been hearing the signal gun by day, we have been seeing the rocket by night. The church is the life-boat, and the only one that has come down from glory. She struck the rocks on Calvary, but the red blood of the Son of God floated her out on the ocean, and wherever the signal gun is heard, if a man here and a man there will respond to it, each will save his man, and in a few years we shall hear no more about the perils; the signal gun will be silent, there will be no more rockets, and but one strain—"All hail the power of Jesus' name."

MR. DODGE: Our last regular talk will be from our friend, Dr. Pierson, of Philadelphia, whom we have all learned to love during these days. [Applause]

REV. ARTHUR T. PIERSON, D. D.

MR. PRESIDENT: BELOVED: This is too solemn a moment for a cheer. I have stood on supreme mounts of privilege in my life, but I calmly say, in the presence of God, that this is the supreme hour of my life. The early apostles had two supreme hours. One was on the Mount of Transfiguration, when, in beholding the glory of the Son of God, all remnants of lingering doubt as to his divinity were removed; and the other was when the flames of fire on the day of Pentecost sat on the head of each of them, and prepared them to go forth to rescue a dying world.

Beloved, we talk of opportunity, responsibility, peril. There is nothing so dangerous as light unused and knowledge unsanctified. In Retzsch's "Illustrations of Faust" is one of the most remarkable pictures I ever saw. The demons in the under world are

contending for the soul of Faust, and the angels in the upper world are watching the struggle with intensest interest, as though they would, if possible, take some part in the contest. They are plucking roses from the bushes of Paradise and raining them down on the heads of the demons, and when they touch the heads of the demons the roses turn to burning, blistering coals of fire.

Brethren, do you know that we are going down from this Mountain of Privilege, in every single instance to be either better men or worse men. We can never be what we were before. When blessings leave God's hands as roses, if they strike an ungrateful, unfaithful, disloyal and selfish heart, they will turn to burning, blistering coals of fire.

I have learned two lessons to-day as I have never had them emphasized before. One is that I cannot get nearer to my Lord without getting nearer to my brethren. And if there is anything that I sorrow for to-day, except the second thing that I am going to speak of in a moment, it is that I have not loved my brethren of all denominations of Christ's blessed church more than I have. That dear brother that spoke to us from Michigan to-day—a royal man—we lived in Detroit together for several years, and his house and my house touched almost, at the rear. I said to myself this morning, "That shall, at the very least, henceforth be my attitude with Bishop Harris, of Michigan—back to back, beating off common foes, never face to face opposing each other. [Applause.]

Brethren, in that noble life of Michael Angelo—Grimm's biography—the author says that all the influences of the day would have made Angelo and Raphael enemies ; but the fact was that they both rose so high above the common level that, like mountains otherwise solitary in a landscape, they felt themselves necessary to each other in the high altitudes to which they rose. [Applause.] So I say to you to-day, if we get up above the common level of worldly and secular things, we shall feel ourselves necessary to each other in the exalted atmosphere of a diviner life.

The other lesson that I have learned to-day, and which I pray God we may all learn, is that there is no such thing as real access and fellowship Christward that does not put away our idols. It is a humiliating thing, brethren, to make a personal confession, but these are hours that we shall never have repeated in this world. It is now more than thirteen years since God showed me that the barrenness of my ministry was owing to the worship of idols.

From my boyhood, literary culture — ambition after literary applause—had been the idol of my heart. In the secrecy of my closet, God said to me, "If you will give up the idol of literary applause and give yourself to rescuing the perishing, I will give you souls." I said, "I will do it." Within eighteen months of that time God gave me more souls brought to Christ by my simple, humble instrumentality than in eighteen years that went before.

O, brethren, brethren, brethren! Here we have been looking into the face of a glorified Christ, and looking into the face of transfigured brethren—for they have been transfigured in his glory, and we have been looking into the face of a lost world—of a coming judgment. What are we going to do about it? I tell you to-night, that, by God's help, I am going to be a new man in Christ Jesus for the rescue of the perishing; and my supreme desire at this moment is that this Mountain of Transfiguration may pass into an upper room of Pentecostal effusion, and that before we leave this house to-night we may have the tongue of fire to go and preach the gospel to a dying world. That is my farewell message to my brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ.

O, beloved, beloved! Is it possible that we are to see truth as we have seen it here, to see needs as we have seen them here, and to see each other as we have seen each other here, and to see a lost world, as we have seen a lost world here, and not go down from this mountain to meet the woes and wants of humanity with an anointed tongue and a transfigured life? [Great applause.]

Mr. Dodge: We could never leave this house, where we have had so much of hospitality and kindness, without hearing from our dear friend, the pastor of this church, who has given so much of himself to us during the last three days—the Rev. Dr. S. M. Newman, our host and friend.

REV. S. M. NEWMAN, D. D.

BRETHREN: It is very evident that this is an hour of consecration. What the extent of that consecration in each individual heart may be is known only to the living God, who by his Holy Spirit searches us, each one, at this moment. As brother after brother has spoken, my mind has reverted to the scene at the River

Jordan, where our Lord and Master was baptized. Coming down to the brink of the river, he was received by John the Baptist and entered upon the moment of his consecration to his Messianic mission. The hour was the hour for which he had been waiting all the first days of that life which he had spent in the village of Nazareth. You remember the delights and the harmonies of the scene—how, when the baptism was performed, it was accompanied by those manifestations which made it, to the mind of the Lord Jesus, a moment of supreme consciousness of the destiny to which he was to come. But, as I have thought of him at that moment, I have learned to think in these later years of the next experience of his life. We read in the gospel according to St. Matthew that after this baptism, with all its delights, had occurred, he was led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil. Consecration always brings an exposure, because consecration brings new thoughts; brings, in our cases, a tumultuous experience of mental graspings, of spiritual upliftings, of endeavor after something different from what we have been. And I have thought, as I have wondered how this great congregation would go down to their homes—I have thought that possibly some of us would go down to lives in which our watchfulness would be set aside because we thought that the moment of consecration was everything, and that, by the experiences of that moment, we were protected from the dangers of the Evil One. Now, as we go back into our work, it must be remembered that temptation lies close by the side of consecration, and that, as in our Master's case, so in ours, what we need is to have such an experience of consecration as to secure the victory over the temptation which shall follow.

What are the temptations in our cases? As we go down from the Mount, it is an exposure to the old possession of notions of our own; it is an exposure to the old prejudices which come in to restrict, to thwart, to set aside, the blessed influences of these last three days. And unless we learn self-control in the presence of statements other than our own expressions of belief, unless we can hear the forms spoken which are not used by us, and believe that the men who use those words and forms are doing the Master's service with us, then we are not ready, in spite of the influence which has been cast upon us, for the work which lies at our doors. It is only through a consecration which has, in other words, a victory in it, that we are ready for service.

Mr. President, I shall have hereafter a new fondness for this platform, where I have stood so many times and undertaken to speak the blessed words of the Lord Jesus Christ. It has borne the tread of men who have been sanctified through suffering for the work which they are doing. It has had upon it men who have come across the water to preach and do the gospel work of the Lord Jesus Christ in this great land of ours; and for their presence, of all shades of belief, Episcopalian, Moravian, Lutheran, Friend, for their presence and their words and the power of their spirit, and the influence of their countenances, and the glances of their eyes, I bless God to-night.

I cannot accept without protest the slight reference which has been made to my part in the work of hospitality. It is true I did open this church, with its, I think, comfortable association and audience room, for your coming; but had it not been for my brother here—my Southern Presbyterian work-fellow; had it not been for my beloved Episcopalian lay friend, my Southern Methodist fellow-pastor and my Presbyterian coadjutor upon the committee, I could have done nothing. So I say that in remembering me, you must remember us all. It has been our delight these last few days to put ourselves at your feet, because we knew the blessing you had to leave in our midst. It has been said in my hearing to-day that the country could not get together a more remarkable body of men than has met in this room during the last few days, for nine prolonged and blessed sessions of Christian conference. I believe it. For this presence I thank you, for myself and for these brethren and for the Christian people of the city. We are your debtors. And we ask that the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, who never forgets the minutest detail of our lives; who never leaves out of his thoughtful and blessed attention a single concern to the lowest of his children—may preside in all your hearts, by the power of his Holy Spirit, and may show unto you by that blessed Spirit the things of the Lord Jesus Christ. The commission has been spoken of here to-night: "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." There should be with every preacher a supreme emphasis laid upon the word "gospel"—"preach the *gospel* to every creature." The gospel is "the things of Christ."

Beloved friends, may the Holy Spirit make these last moments, as they go away irresistibly—moments of victory, moments of con-

secration to duty, moments of resolution, not in human strength, but in divine strength; moments of transcendent appreciation that the world can be conquered only when Christians are one. May God bless this Evangelical Alliance for the United States of America, as it starts from this point for a career, the next years of its existence, which we trust will be one of increasing light and satisfaction and power to all our vast land and population.

Mr. Dodge, in closing the exercises of the Conference, said: Resolutions would be very cold as coming from us to-night, but we want, with all our hearts, those of us who are connected with the Alliance and those of us who have come from other cities and from other parts of the country, to thank our brothers here for their generous hospitality, for their Christian welcome, and for all the facilities and comforts they have given us. We hope and know these meetings will leave a blessing here. And now as we part let it be with a note of gladness and joy, that in these grand times of the world's history we are called to service for the Master.

In the old days, when in castle courts and in old walled cities, the leaders for the fray called to arms, not only was the shout of legions heard, but every sword was drawn from its scabbard and all flashed together in the light, and the bearers swore allegiance, and fealty to each other and their cause, and then went out to the fight. Let us, servants of so grand a Lord, go out with such a feeling.

Even in this moment of enthusiasm and deep feeling may I state just what the practical thing is we want to do. We want not only in our hearts to rejoice that God loves us and will save us. We want, not only to hope that others will take hold and organize great works of charity and of good: we want to know to-night what the Saviour who has redeemed us, and to whose cause we so gladly pledge ourselves—has for us to do.

We have ventured to indicate repeatedly during these meetings what seemed to us the simple and first thing for you to do.

You want to find out intelligently what your duty is. When you go home, will you study carefully what is just about you?

You who are pastors, and you who are leading men in your communities, will you not meet with those who have with you a stake in the community, who have with you a love for our common country and a love for our risen Lord, and study what the needs are.

Do you know, if your experience is not different from all others, that when you find out what the needs are just by your home, when you find the sorrow and distress, the darkness and the ignorance, that you go by every day, when you find how much trouble and need for work there is, if you have a spark of love for Christ in your heart, you need nothing more?

God will give you intelligence and wisdom, and I believe that the common sense, the earnest faith and the consecration of the church of Christ will be able to meet the great emergency that is upon us. Find out what it is God wishes you to do, join with your Christian friends of all faiths in earnest work. Then we shall always remember with joy these days of blessed instruction, help and inspiration; and this will be the beginning of a work which I hope, with God's blessing, will quietly go through the whole land until every dark spot is uncovered, and until the example and teachings of Christ our Lord are the inspiration and the life of our country.

I am going to ask our friend Mr. Thane Miller, of Cincinnati, to lead us in a closing prayer, and then we shall all heartily and gladly join in singing the first and last verses of the hymn beginning, "Christ for the World, we sing."

After prayer by Mr. H. Thane Miller, the benediction was pronounced by Rev. Dr. Pitzer, Secretary of the Washington Alliance, and the Conference adjourned *sine die.*

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CALL OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

The Conference lately held in Washington made a deep impression on the country. It was remarkable for its numbers, character and earnestness.

There was an extended discussion of the dangers to our national life. The great resources of the Christian church—so largely unused—were fully considered. All present felt that new and remarkable opportunities existed for bringing the practical teachings of Christ to bear upon the social problems of the times.

It was shown that active co-operation of all Christians was absolutely needed and easily possible, not only without interfering with the work of any church, but distinctly helping forward that of each. A deep impression of personal responsibility grew out of these discussions, and the members left with the conviction that wise and prompt action should be taken.

We, therefore, venture to suggest that in each city, town and neighborhood, pastors of all denominations, and such laymen as they may select, be invited to meet and carefully study the needs and problems of their special locality. This may include such organized visitation as shall give a certain knowledge of those who do not attend religious services, and as far as possible the reasons which keep them away. It is especially desirable to devise plans for winning the confidence of working people. Such visitation can readily include a knowledge of the sick and deserving poor, the number and location of saloons and places of ill repute, and all the evil influences that affect the moral character of the community. Such study will draw Christians into closer sympathy, and will so reveal needs as to stimulate earnest and united action, by which alone the desired work can be effectively done.

As the value of the work will depend chiefly on its continuance, we suggest that permanent organizations be formed, and in order that they may be mutually helpful and that they may co-operate in the prosecution of moral reforms and in the defense of cherished and endangered institutions, we invite such organizations to become branches of the National Alliance.

Documents will be furnished on application to the General Secretary.

W. E. DODGE, President.
JOSIAH STRONG, Secretary.

JOHN JAY, Chairman Ex. Com.
42 BIBLE HOUSE.

FORMS OF BEQUEST AND DEVISE.

BEQUEST OF MONEY.

I give and bequeath to the "Evangelical Alliance for the United States of America," organized in 1885 as a corporation under the Statutes of the State of New York, the sum of.....dollars (or so many shares of..... ....stock).

DEVISE OF LAND.

If the gift is of land the form may be as follows:

I give and devise to the "Evangelical Alliance for the United States of America," organized in 1885 as a corporation under the Statutes of the State of New York, all that certain house and lot (or piece of land) situate..... ....., etc.

N. B.—The legal title of this corporation is:

THE "EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

CHRISTIANS AT WORK.

The proceedings of the eight days' Convention of Christian Workers in the United States and Canada, which was held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, September 21–28, 1887, will come from the press about March 1. It is a book of nearly two hundred and fifty pages, and contains the addresses, papers, etc., a stenographic report of the questions and answers and short addresses which followed the papers, making a vivid pen-picture of the Convention. It contains more than fifty papers and addresses of considerable length, in addition to the large number of short addresses, and questions and answers on practical topics relating to Christian work among the classes not reached by the ordinary ministrations of the church. It will be a real help and inspiration to any Christian who is interested in Christian work among the masses.

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